





Presented to the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Woodroffe
with the best regards of
Nagendranāth Vasu
20 Kantapukur Lane, Bagb
2.9.11

THE
ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY
OF
MAYURABHANJA.

Vol. I.

BY

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PREFACE.

It is now nearly eighteen years that I happened to come by several copper-plate grants together with rubbings from a number of inscriptions discovered in Orissa which went far to prove that the till then accepted theories regarding the antiquities of that historic land were erroneous in many respects. A close and careful examination of these materials led me to conclude that the earlier part of the *Mādalā-Paṇji* of Orissa was not only unreliable as a guide in regard to the old chronology of her Princes but positively misleading. I was also under the strong impression that further careful researches were likely to bring more resources within the reach of scholars, leading to conclusions that would materially differ from, nay, in some cases even go so far as to explode, the established theories. So I embarked on a research in Orissa and embodied the results thereof in my Bengali Encyclopædia, the *Viçvakoṣa*,* besides contributing some articles based on them to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.†

It was about this time also that I took a short trip into Orissa by sea and visited several important places there. As a result of this, I

* *Viçvakosa*—Vol. V, Arts., Gāngeya, Gopināthapura ;
—Vol. VI, Arts., Châteçvara, Jagannātha ;
—Vol. XIV., Art., Bhuvaneçvara.

Vide also the *Praçasti* of Bhatta Bhavadēva with a faesimile in my *Banger Jatiya Itihāsa* (1902). Vol. I.

† *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*, (Kendupatnā plates of Narasimha II), Vol. LXV., Part I, p. 235ff ; (Megheçvara Inscription of Svapneçvara Deva), Vol. LXVI. Pt. I, p. 11ff and (Châteçvara Inscription of Anangabhimā II) Vol. LXVII. Pt. I, p. 317ff.

returned richer in the possession of some further materials and these were found to be good enough to substantiate some of the theories recently started by me. Encouraged by this success, I did feel a strong desire to explore the hidden resources of this country and accordingly submitted an elaborate plan of work to Dr. Rudolf Hoernle, the then President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. And he was kind enough to encourage me in every possible way, even going so far as to ask me to wait a few months to see if he could secure for me some financial aid from the Government. In his native goodness he also offered to give me letters of introduction to the Commissioner of the Orissa Division and other high officials there with the request that they would lend me every possible help in the realization of my project. These kind letters of his I have preserved as marks of his appreciation of my humble services in the field of historical research. Dr. G. A. Grierson, the renowned linguist, and Mahāmahopādhyāya Hara Prasād Cāstri (now Vice-President) were at that time respectively filling the chair of the Philological Secretary and of the Joint-Philological Secretary to the Asiatic Society. They also helped me in various ways, especially in the publication of the copper-plate inscriptions which I had then deciphered. They offered me a seat on the Philological Committee of the Society which I gladly accepted. But with all these favourable conditions I was not able to take up the projected exploration at that time owing to certain domestic troubles and some other causes. In the meantime, however, other scholars had come to the field, whose labours in the interests of historical research in the various parts of Orissa cannot be too highly praised. Dr. Fleet's learned discourse

on and criticism of the *Mādalā Pāñji* and Mr. Manomohan Chakravarti's devoted labours in the field of the ancient history of Orissa have directed the course of research in that country into a new channel altogether.

While admiring the works of these learned scholars, little did I think that again an opportunity would soon present itself to me for the realization of my long cherished desire to have a share in the exploration of Orissa—that picturesque and historic land of decorative art and marine enterprises, from where intrepid and enterprising sailors crossed over not only to Java and other islands of the Indian Archipelago but to South Africa and other far-off regions with the earliest torch of Indian civilization.

It was in 1906 that I had the pleasure of an interview with the Chief of Mayūrabhañja, and was struck with the earnestness and the spirit of devotion with which he espoused the cause of antiquarian researches in Orissa. I was told that he had already commenced an archæological enquiry, under the auspices of which the work of exploration was being laboriously conducted within his jurisdiction. This was an important forward movement. Hitherto explorations and researches were confined mainly to the British territories and a vast tract of country under native chiefs and possessing unlimited resources of great historical interest lay absolutely untrodden by the antiquarian.

As I have said before, an opportunity was soon awaiting me for the satisfaction of my long cherished desires to explore Orissa. As the result of the interview I was placed by the Chief of Mayūrabhañja at the head of his Archæological

Department in 1907, and have ever since been doing my level best to bring the undertaking to a successful issue. Sparing neither pains nor health I have toured in various parts of Mayūrabhañja and am now going to lay before the public the results of my patient toils and earnest endeavours.

The difficulties that I have had to encounter may be understood to some extent if the reader will bear in mind the fact that up till now no history of Mayūrabhañja, worth the name, has been published. The antiquity of this part of Orissa will be proved beyond the shadow of a doubt by consulting the copper-plates that have of late been recovered as having been granted in days long gone by the ancient Rulers of the Bhañja line.* However valuable these plates may be in establishing the antiquity of this dynasty, they will be found to be of little value in enabling one to trace out a clear and connected history of the country as they refer to widely divergent times and incidents. For an attempt in this direction it will therefore be deemed necessary to make a preliminary investigation for recovering as many of the old relics as possible of the places where these Rulers must have played some part or other in shaping the history of the country and the people. In the course of a conference with the Mahārāja I was once shown the following portion of Mr. Sterling's account concerning the agreement that was entered into by the local Chiefs with Rājā Mānsimha when the Moghul power was at its zenith. This gives us an approximate idea of the extent of the Mayūrabhañja territories, besides furnishing us with the names of the states that were tributary to it :—

* *Vide* appendix—(Plates No. 79—96).

“Under the Zeminder of Moherbenj twelve zemindaries containing for two Killahs.

His own Estate, one Zemindari containing eighteen Killahs, *viz.* Bhanjabhum, Mantri, Hariharpur, Dewalia, Purnia, Karkachua, Bamanghatti, Sirhonda, and small insignificant forts, ten Dependent Chiefs, eleven Zemindaries having twenty-four Killas *viz.*—

ZEMINDAR.		KILLAS.		REMARKS.
Nilgiri	...	1	10	One of the Cuttack Tributary Mahals.
Sinhbhum	...	1	1	Now an independent Estate.
Barabhum	...	1	1	
Patharhai				
Narsinhpur	...	1	4	One of the Jungle estates in the Midnapur District.
Deba				
Tyrchand	}	...	...	In Cuttack at the mouth of the Subanrekha.
Jameunda		...	...	
Chargerh		...	2	Ditto.
Talmunda		...	...	One of the Cuttack Killahs.
Jamrapal		...	...	Ditto.”†

From the account quoted above we come to learn that a time was when the sway of the Bhañja Rājās extended up to Midnapur in the north, to the boundary line of Keonjhar in the south drained by the river Vaitarani, and to Singbhum in the west, besides being well

† *Vide Asiatic Researches*, 1825, Vol. XV. p. 233.

established in various parts of Balasore in the east. It has, moreover, been thoroughly established by the copper-plates that have been brought to light in Baud and Gumsur that in these two territories also the influence of this dynasty was at one time predominant. Under these circumstances it is absolutely necessary to explore these places if an authentic history of the Bhañja Rājās has to be written.

In the present volume—the first part of the Report—we confine ourselves to bringing to the notice of the public what we have been able to glean from an archæological survey of Mayūra-bhañja proper and adjacent places under the noble guide and patronage of the Chief who spares neither pains nor money in the cause. The accounts, contained in this, cover the results obtained in the year 1907-09. It consists of brief reports about various places in the area defined above, which are exceptionally rich in the possession of interesting and important materials of history, together with an introduction wherein I have tried to trace the rise of the various religious sects that flourished in the land at different ages and especially the account of modern Buddhism with its followers in Orissa. And these have also been supplemented by accounts of the images of the various gods and goddesses, temples, mounds and debris that I have come across in the country with descriptive notices of them quoted from ancient Sanskrit works of authority. An appendix has also been added containing a summary of the contents of the copper-plate inscriptions collected by the Archæological Department during the years 1907-09, chiefly through the uncommon interest and co-operation of the Chief. The book has

also been enriched by facsimiles of the original grants and other inscriptions with their readings.

The photos from which half-tone blocks were prepared for the book had generally to be taken under great disadvantage. Many of the figures inside the temples were found fixed on the walls : nay in some cases the pedestals themselves formed part of the masonry work of ground floor. And in some cases, as in the temple of Mārīchī at Ayodhyā, the huge figures could scarcely be photographed in the scanty light that glimmered through the narrow apertures of the temple.

It was our intention to give a history of the Kusumba Kṣatriyas and of the Bhañja Rājās in the third part of the introduction. But as our researches on those points have not been yet complete, we reserve a full treatment of the subjects for a future part of the Report.

Descriptions of the wonderful figures found at Khiching have been reserved for the second part. The superior workmanship of these have indeed been a startling discovery for us. The faces of the goddesses beam with radiant smiles which seem to be a realization on stone of the best dreams of the poet and artist. The smiles are indicated by carvings on lip of hard stone and look as fresh and soft as newly blown buds. No detail is omitted and the smiles illustrate that motherly grace which is a pure Indian conception and is quite distinct from what we find in the Italian painter's Madona. There is indeed a trace of the Northern influence in the whole, but it has given an additional strength to the Utkal sculptor's hand who did not borrow but assimilate the elements that came in his way. Of these figures more will be said in their proper place hereafter.

Mayūrabhañja hitherto interested the geologist and the mineralogist only, although it promises an even richer field to the archæologist and historian. The picturesque land bears its silent history of ages on its temples and images. Its record of archæological glory has to be discovered from amongst the vast ruins overspreading it, some of which have long ceased even to see light and would have to be brought out again by excavators. The materials already found have far exceeded our expectations and yet, not even $\frac{1}{8}$ part of the country has been trodden by the feet of the explorer.

In conclusion, I have to offer my sincere thanks to Mahāmahopādhyāya Hara Prasād Çāstri M.A. and to Babu Dinesh Chandra Sen B.A. for helping me occasionally with valuable suggestions and kind advice in the compilation of the present work.

20 KANTAPUKUR LANE,
BAGBAZAR, CALCUTTA.

Dated, the 1st January, 1911.

NAGENDRANATH VASU.

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INTRODUCTION.

I.

(*a*) The influence of the Sauras, (*b*) of the Caivas, (*c*) of the Vaisnavas, (*d*) of the Jainas, (*e*) of the Buddhists; (*f*) Hindu Tantrika influence, (*g*) Mahayana and Bauddha Tantrika influence.

From what we have observed in different parts of Mayūrabhañja and adjacent places, we are of opinion that a systematic history cannot be written for want of reliable records and contemporary inscriptions. The country is, nevertheless, a mine of ancient remains; people often come upon sculptured stones and statues, which are sometimes of remarkable beauty, underneath the earth, in ruined temples and deserted jungles. Some idea of the influence which various religious sects exerted here may be gleaned from a study of these figures, temples, mounds or brick *debris*. The place is one of the most promising sites for excavation. In almost all the ancient parts statues attesting to the former ascendancy of the important Indian religions are now frequently discovered. Higher class people do not seem to have evinced any interest in preserving these figures. They are now reckoned as Grāma-devatās or "village gods" and worshipped by the low-class people with offerings of flowers, fruits, milk, &c. The attention of antiquarians has not hitherto been drawn to the fact that interesting and important material for the study of comparative religion can be gathered from the history of these neglected images of gods and

goddesses. It was only recently that M. Foucher, a French *Savant*, in his work on Buddhist Iconography drew public attention to this important point. But we can scarcely expect any great results in this direction from merely the elaboration of Buddhist Iconography. To acquire a thorough knowledge of the history of the different religions of this country, it is necessary to bring to light the materials lying scattered all over India and then study the Iconography of each sect. It is high time that an attempt should be made in this direction. The long-forgotten figures of different deities, found in various places, are so to speak the only surviving witnesses of the various stages of the religious history of the country in the far-back past.

THE SAURA OR THE EARLY SCYTHIC INFLUENCE.

It is now admitted by scholars that the Magas or Scythic Brāhmaṇas were the first to introduce the worship of the image of the Sun into India. In addition to Sun-worship, they cultivated the study of Astrology and Medicine. Now the question arises: when did these Brāhmaṇas migrate to India and spread themselves over its various provinces? The Greek ambassador Megasthenes, when at the court of Pāṭaliputra, observed in that part of the province the worship of the image of the Sun. References to these Maga Brāhmaṇas are to be found in ancient Pāli literature, and from this source we learn that they were powerful at the time of the Buddha. In the well-known Pāli work, *Bambhajāla Sutta*, we find Lord Buddha speaking in disparaging terms of this class of Brāhmaṇa astrologers.

From these authorities we are naturally led to conclude that the Scythic Brāhmaṇas came and settled in Eastern India long before the time of the Buddha.¹

From a study of the Bhaviṣya, Varāha, and Çāmba Purāṇas, we learn that after the great battle of Kurukṣetra, Çāmba, one of the several sons of Çrī Kṛṣṇa, was attacked with leprosy, that he got rid of this loathsome disease by worshipping Mitra the Sun-god, and that some Brāhmaṇas came from Çākadvīpa (Scythia) to do pūjā to that deity. We learn further from the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa that the Saura Brāhmaṇas of Çākadvīpa were at first known as Magas, but were afterwards divided into three classes according to their different modes of worship and religious faiths. They were subsequently known as Magas, Somakas and Bhojakas. Those, who were fire-worshippers and followed the religious teachings of Zarathustra, were known as Magas. Those who traced their origin from Soma were known as Somakas or Dvijas, while others who worshipped the Sun-god and professed to be descended from the Sun were designated Bhojakas.² Though the Scythian Brāhmaṇas thus came to be divided into three classes, in ancient India they were commonly known as Magas or Bhojakas. The circumstances under which these people migrated to this country have been described in several ancient works.³

¹ For particulars, *vide* Bangera Jātiya Itihāsa, Part IV, pp. 56—59.

² “अग्निजात्या मगाः प्रोक्ता. सोमजात्या द्विजातयः ।

भोजका यादित्यजात्या दिव्यास्ते परिकीर्त्तिताः ॥”

(भविष्यपुराण, ब्राह्मपर्व, १३६ अः)

³ *Vide* Bhaviṣya Purāṇa, Brāhmaparvan, Ch. 139-141 ; Çāmba Purāṇa, Ch. 7-10 ; Govindapur Inscription in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, p. 333, and Maga-vyakti by Krisnadāsa.

Bhaviṣya Purāṇa relates that Zarathustra who acknowledged the superiority of fire, was born of that element. He also used to interpret the Veda in a perverted way which led to a quarrel between him and the Magas who worshipped Mitra, the Sun-god. We also learn that Zarathustra never admitted the superiority of the Sun. In the Zand Avesta, the oldest record of the fire-worshippers, Mitra is known as only one of the minor gods. But on the other hand in Mihir Yast, we find a faint reference to the effect that at one time Mitra (Mithra in the Avesta) was worshipped as the highest god. Be that as it may, on a dispute arising between the followers of the Mitra cult and the Fire-worshippers, those of the Ākadvīpī Brāhmaṇas who belonged to the former sect, migrated to India with their families. Although there is a difference of opinion as to the time when Zarathustra flourished, we may rely on the opinion of Berosus, the distinguished historian of Babylon, that the dynasty of Zarathustra¹ reigned between 2200 and 2000 B. C., and that Spitama Zarathustra, the founder of Mazdaism, lived before that time, i.e., more than 4100 years before the present era.² On the other hand, if we are to accept the views of the great Indian astronomer Varāha Mihira and that of Kālhana, the author of Rājatarangīnī we find that the Kurus and the Pāṇḍavas

¹ *Zarathustra*.—In different manuscripts of Bhaviṣya Purāṇa that we have come across, various readings have been found of this name—e.g., जरथस्त्र, जरशस्त्र, जलस्त्र, &c. They are evidently corruptions of the name Zarathustra as found in the Avesta. We have therefore adapted जरथस्त्र (Zarathustra) the reading of the older MSS. of Bhaviṣya Purāṇa (Viṣṇvakosa-office collection) as it approaches nearest to the name found in the Avesta.

² See Haug's *Essays on Parsis*, p. 298.

flourished at the time when 653 years of the Kaliyuga had passed away, *i.e.*, about 4357 years back. We find in the Bhaviṣya and other Purāṇas, as we have already stated, that Čāmba appointed Brāhmaṇas of Čākadvīpa to offer pūjās to Mitra after the Kurukṣetra war was over. Considering the above facts mentioned in the history of the two places, it appears that Čāmba brought the Maga Brāhmaṇas to India at the time when Zarathustra was flourishing. So it will not be very far from the truth if we say that the Maga or the Brāhmaṇas of Čākadvīpa established themselves in this country more than 4000 years ago.

The figure of the Sun-god under the name of Mitra was for the first time set up by the Maga Brāhmaṇas for pūja at a place called Mūlačāmbapura which is identical with the modern Multan. The place derived its name from that of the prince Čāmba.¹ Magas or Saura Brāhmaṇas first settled in Čāmbapur.² We find in the Varāha

¹ Many portion of the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa are no doubt of recent composition; but the work as a whole cannot be rejected as unauthentic. On the other hand, we are inclined to hold that generally speaking it is the oldest book in which the interpolators find it to their advantage to make elaborate addition for giving them an authentic character. The Brāhmaparvan which forms the first part of the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa is evidently very old. Even such an ancient book as Dharmasūtra of A'pastamba quotes ślokaṣ from the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa. The Nāradya Purāṇa (Chap. 100) gives a synopsis of this Brāhmaparvan and the Varāha Purāṇa makes an important reference to this portion of the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa, while dealing with the Sun-god and his worshipper. (Chap. 177). The great astronomer Varāha Mihir quotes a passage (138,6) from it in his Brihat Samhitā (60,19). In this passage there is a mention of the following religious sects which flourished in ancient India:— Bhāgavatas, Magas or Sauras, ash-besmeared Caivas, Mātrikā worshippers, white-clothed Jains and the red-clothed Buddhist Cramanas. Under the circumstances we suppose that the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa was compiled not later than the 2nd century B. C. For particulars see "Bāṅger Jātiya Itihāsa" or the History of the different Sub-castes of Bengal, Part IV (Čākalvīpi Brāhmana Vivaraṇa), pp. 38-90.

² The Chinese Pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang (Yuan Chuang) saw a golden image of the Sun when he came to Mūla-Sāmbapura or Multan.—*Vide* Journal Asiatique (Paris) 1881, Tome X, p. 70.

Purāṇa and Čāmba Purāṇa that they had spread so far as Mathurā and even to Konārka on the Orissa coast. Magadha seems to have derived its name from these Maga Brāhmaṇas.

It is stated in the Riyazu-s-Salaṭīn :—“In the time of Rāi Mahārāj¹ a person coming from Persia perverted the people of Hindustān to Sun-worship.....In the time of Rai Suraj a Brāhman, coming from the mountains of Jhār-khand entered his service and taught the Hindus idol-worship and preached that everyone preparing a gold or silver or stone image of his father and grandfather, should devote himself to its worship, and this practice became more common than other practices. And at the present day in the religious practice of Hindus the worship of idols and of the Sun and of Fire is very common. Some say that fire-worship was introduced by Ibrahim Zardasht.* * * After this, Shangaldīp emerging from the environs of Koch, became victorious over Kidār and founded the city of Gaur.”²

In Ferishta, the following accounts of Shangal appears :—

“Shangal towards the close of the reign of Rājā Kidār Brāhman, emerging from the environs of Koch won a victory over Kidār and founded the city of Gaur. Shangal mobilized a force of four thousand elephants, one lak cavalry and five lak infantry and stopped paying tribute to Afrasiab, the king of Turan or Scythia. Becoming enraged, Afrasiab deputed his Generalissimo Pirān

Sir Alexander Cunningham writes :—“The Sun was the chief deity of Multan, from the earliest times down to the reign of Aurangzib, by whose orders the idol is said to have been destroyed.”—*Ibid* Archaeological Survey Reports, Vol. II p. 34.

¹ Rāi Bahdāj (Bharadvāja) of Ferishta.

² Riyaz, translated by Maulavi Abdus Salam, pp. 53-54.

Viśah with fifty thousand cavalry to chastise Shangal."¹

The historians of Persia say that Afrasiab, a Scythian king, conquered Persia, killed Nazar with his own hand and reigned there for about twelve years about seven centuries before the Christian era.²

The account given by the writers of Riyaz and Ferishta, based, as it is, on the most ancient materials, cannot be lightly treated. From the evidence found in the passages quoted above, we are led to think that the Scythian rule existed in Bengal seven hundred years before the birth of Christ. We infer that the names *Shangal* and *Shangaldip* are nothing but corruptions of the Cākala (शकल) and Cākalādhīpa (शकलाधिप), i. e., the Scythians and the kings of the Scythians. These names do not refer to any individual persons. We come to learn from the cuneiform inscriptions of Darius Hystaspes, that the Scythians had obtained a stronghold in the Panjāb long before his time, and some of them were appointed Satraps under that Persian monarch. It appears that the Scythians were powerful in the Panjab six or seven centuries before Christ. When Alexander the Great came to this country, he found them predominant everywhere in the Panjab.³ Their ascendancy spread in a similar way over the eastern part of India in the 7th or 8th century before Christ. Many are of opinion that the royal family of Cākya-race to which

¹ Ferishta, Vol. II, p. 223 quoted by M. Abdus Salam in his Riyāz.

² *Vide* Riyaz, translated by Maulavi Abdus Salam. (As. Society Edn., p. 54 note.)

³ *Vide* Cunningham's Archæological Survey Report, Vol. II, pp. 6-40.

Gautama Buddha belonged was but a branch of the Çākas or Scythians.¹

Bharata Mallika, the commentator of Amara-koṣa, quotes the following verse about the derivation of the word Çākya :—

“शाकवृक्षप्रतिच्छन्नं वासं यस्मात् प्रचक्रिरे ।

तस्मादिच्छाकुवंशास्ते भुवि शाक्या इति श्रुताः ॥”

“These men of the Iksāku family came to be known by the name of Çākya from the fact that they lived under the cover of the Çāka tree.”

We meet with a similar passage in the Mahābhārata :—

“जम्बुद्वीपेन संख्यातस्त्वस्य मध्ये महाद्रुमः ।

शाको नाम महाराज प्रजा तस्य सदानुगा ॥”

(Bhīṣma Parvan, Ch. II.)

“In that island (Scythia) similar size to that of Jambūdvīpa, there is a tree known as Çāka, great king ! The subjects are always attached to that tree.”

From the above quotation, it was believed that both the Çāka (Scythian) and Çākya race originated from the same source.

In Ferishta, we find mention of the name of Rāi Bahadāj as one of the earliest kings of Gauda, and infer that the author speaks of no other person than Aṅgīrasa Bharadvāja. From the inscriptions of the Maga-poet Gaṅgādhara of Bharadvāja clan, we find that even so late as the 12th century A. D. the Āṅgīrasa Bhāradvājas were held in great respect at the royal court of Magadha.²

¹ See Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1892, part I, p. 143.

² Ephigraphia Indica, Vol. II, p. 333.

In the Madhya Rāḍha (Modern Burdwan) where the Rāḍhiya section of the Āṅgīrasa Brāhmaṇas once lived in large numbers, there is a village called Āṅgīrasī, and the Āṅgīrasa Brāhmaṇas of this village are held in the great respect among the Çākadvīpī Āchāryyas of Bengal.¹ In all likelihood these Brāhmaṇas extended their influence in Eastern India before the 8th century B.C. After them another branch of a section of the Scythians, locally known as the Kidārs, came and established their influence in Eastern India. In the 7th century B.C. the Scythian king of Persia came to India and defeated these Kidārs. The name Kidār bears an affinity with the branch of Scythians and suggests a connection between the two people.² The Kidār Brāhmaṇas had established their rule in the eastern part of India more than 2500 years ago and were defeated by the Scythian Kṣatriyas.³ Two Sanskrit Kārikās in verse have recently been recovered from these Āṅgīrasa Brāhmaṇas of Çākadvīpa belonging to the Rāḍhiya sub-section. From one of these we learn that those Brāhmaṇas who claimed their descent from the Sun came to live at Gauḍa about 3000 years ago. The other Kārikā mentions that another branch of these Brāhmaṇas came from Madhya-deça or Mid India and settled in Rāḍha more than two thousand years ago.

IN all probability these Āṅgīrasa Bharadvāja
 Scythic Brāhmaṇas in Brāhmaṇas sought refuge in the
 Mayurabhanja. Jhārkhaṇḍ or jungle tracts of
 Mayūrabhañja when they were deprived of their
 kingdom by the Kidārs who had entered India

¹ Vide Bangera Jātiya Itihāsa, Part IV, p. 114 note.

² See Rapson's Indian Coins (in Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie, Vol. II, p. 36.)

³ For Scythian Ksatriyas, see J. A. S. Bengal, Vol. LXXI, part I, p. 142.

through China. Some of these immigrants were invited by a king of Gauḍa to attend his Court where they introduced image-worship for the first time. It is held by many now-a-days that image-worship was introduced by these Scythians throughout Asia in very ancient times. It was by the inhabitants of Jhārkhaṇḍ that idol-worship was first brought into Eastern India, so when speaking of the Saura influence we have at the very outset to refer to Jhārkhaṇḍ as the place which played an important part in its history.

The influence of the Saura Brāhmaṇas in Jhārkhaṇḍ is even now as strong as ever. Though no longer claiming to be designated as Çākadvīpīs or Scythians, they live entirely separate from the great bulk of the Indian Brāhmaṇa population. In modern times they call themselves Āngirasas, and worship the Sun under the name of Nṛsimha or Raghunātha. They live in various parts of Mayūrabhaṇja such as Kaṇṭhipur, Baisingā, Māṅgovindapur, Daisarā, Kuchiakoil, Ambikāḍipur, Ichhāpur Çāsan, Dāmodarpur-Çāsan, Gajāri-Çāsan, &c.¹

¹ I have heard from these Āngirasas that many of them still live in the villages of Aladā and Mākanda in the Parganā Kundi, in Asimālā Çāsan in the Pargana Soró in the District of Balasor, and in the village Konārak in the District of Puri. They are generally known as Atharvavedī Brāhmaṇas, but from Bhaviṣya Purāṇa we can see that the Āngirasas are no other than the Magas themselves :—

“ ऋग्वेदोऽथ यजुर्वेदः सामवेदस्तथर्वणः ।

ब्राह्मणीक्तास्तथा वेदा मगानामपि सुव्रताः ॥

त एव विपरीतास्तु तेषां वेदाः प्रकीर्त्तिताः ।

विदो विश्वरदश्चैव विदादाङ्गिरसस्तथा ॥

वेदो ह्येते मगानान्तु पुरोवाच प्रजापतिः ।” (भविष्यपुः १४० अः)

Of these four Vedas only Āngirasa is now-a-days accepted by the Saura Brāhmaṇas and their daily duties are performed according to the rules laid down in it. For this reason these Brāhmaṇas are known as

These Āngirasas have their own manners and customs which distinguish them from other Brāhmaṇas. Though their male members have lost much of their original ruddiness and lustre owing to hard labour and the heat of the sun, the charming and attractive beauty of their female sex recalls the good looks, bright golden colour and simple habits of the Scythian women of Central Asia.

Their manners and customs still resemble those of the primitive Maga Brāhmaṇas who worshipped Mitra or the Sun.¹ From very ancient times these Scythian Brāhmaṇas were distinguished for their proficiency in Astrology and Medical Science. These two Sciences still form their principal professions. Many of the Āngirasas are reputed to be good astrologers and physicians. It is said of these people that after they had settled in Jhārkhaṇḍa (modern Mayūrabhañja), some of them migrated to Sūryapur in the district of Balasor and others to Konāraka on the sea-coast. The thriving village Soro in Balasor District was formerly known as Saurapur or Sūryapur. Evidence is not wanting to prove

Āngirasas and their Code of rituals is known as Āngirasakalpa. From Bhavīsyā we also learn that all the good fruits which the followers of Rik, Sama and Yajus derive from studying their respective Vedas, are enjoyed by the Atharvans and Atharvaṅgirasas from worshipping the Sun-god alone :—

“कृत्वेदस्य समस्तस्य यच्छते यत्फलं ध्रुवम् ।

सामवेदफलं साम यजुर्वेदफलं यजुः ॥

अथर्वार्थार्ज्जुनसो निखिलं यच्छते रविः ।”

(Bhavīsyā Brāhma, Ch. 106, Cl. 10).

¹ A full description of the Scythic Brāhmaṇas will be found in the 4th part of my work entitled बङ्गेर जातीय इतिहास or a History of the various Subcastes of Bengal.

the great influence once wielded by the Saura Brāhmaṇas in the village of Soro. From the inscriptions engraved on the stone pedestal of the Saptakumarikā discovered in the village Ghorā-Shāhi near Soro, we find that even in the 15th century A. D. a temple was dedicated to the Sun and that Sun-worship existed in that part of the country even to that late period.¹ The Āygirasa Brāhmaṇas are the priests of the temple of Konārak dedicated to the Sun, which has a world-wide celebrity on account of its architectural excellence. The famous temple of Konārak was built in the 12th century A. D. The place had long before that time become well-known as a chief centre of the Sauras. The Saura Brāhmaṇas of this place are spoken of very highly even in the ancient books, the Brāhma and the Čamba Purāṇas.

The Āygirasas of Mayūrabhaṇja secretly observe the original customs of the Sauras even up to the present day. Reading the Vedas (sacred books) after investiture with the sacred thread, marriage after the study of Vedas, or

¹ This statue (Fig. 3) was found in a tank in the village of Ghorā Shāhi, within the Zamindari of Rājā Bāhādur Baikuntha Nath De of Balasor. It was removed to Balasor by the Raja Bahadur and preserved in his own palace-garden. Ancient Uriya inscriptions are engraved upon it. The first line is illegible. From the second line the inscription is legible, though all the letters on both sides cannot be read. It runs thus :—

Line 2. ... वेसरे तुलाब सूर्जपूज्जीवाकु' सीकारे मइवाजित नाचकंकर
चेउटा म

L. 3. ... गङ्गल श्रीगरवाणीसनी देवीकृतखण्डकरं वील्लासरे तुवालवासमते

L. 4. ... यो घोइसाइनी शमर भलोझासी तुहीरी इइ ग ँ त
सीसासहीत लोखण म

L. 5. ... ते सब

keeping the *avyanga* (Āiwyāonhanem in the Zend Avesta) or the sacred thread on the body always, *tri-savanam*, worshipping the Sun five times during the day and night, refraining from abusing Devas, Brāhmaṇas and Vedas, setting up and reverencing images of all gods as different forms of the Sun-god and refraining from taking food in a Çūdra's house—these are their Çāstrie ordinances to which each Āngirasa has to conform.¹ It is remarkable that these very customs existed among the ancient fire-worshippers who followed the doctrines of Zarathustra. The only difference between them and the Magas of India was that the former were *Ahura* (*Asura*)-*worshippers* and the latter *Deva-worshippers*.² Other observances followed by these Brāhmaṇas are described in the Āngirasa Kalpa and the Bhaviṣya Brāhmaṇparvan. These very customs are also found described in the Avesta, the ancient scripture of the Persian Magas.³ On account of their peculiar customs these Brāhmaṇas have remained distinct and separate from the great mass of the Indian Brāhmaṇa community from the very earliest times. Other

¹ “सिदाधिगमनं पूर्व्वं दारसंग्रहणं तथा ॥

अव्यङ्गधारणं नित्यं तथा विमवनं स्मृतम् ।

पञ्चकलः सदा पूज्यो ह्यहं रात्रौ दिने तथा ॥

देवब्राह्मणवेदानां निन्दा कार्या न ते क्वचित् ।

नान्यदेव प्रतिष्ठा तु कार्या वै भीजकेन तु ॥

न भुञ्जीत गृहं गत्वा शूद्रस्य गृहङ्गायज ।”

Bhaviṣya Brāhma Parvan, Ch. 117.

² Haug's Essays on the Parsis, pp. 281-7.

³ See Bangera Jātiya Itihāsa, Vol. II, Pt. IV. pp. 35-36.

Brāhmanas would not even partake of food prepared by them.¹

That image-worship was first introduced by these Maga Brāhmanas is proved by the fact that it was these men who had the full control at the making of images in olden times. Even now in backward parts of Bengal their descendants give the finishing touches to the colouring,—a function which the image-makers religiously reserve for them. It is also these Brāhmanas who do the paintings on the background. These duties which devolve upon them as a piece of religious work indicate their early connection with image-worship.

There is a great similarity between Mazdaism and the Mitra or Sun-worship. It would, however, be incorrect to infer from this that the latter was derived from the former. It is admitted by oriental scholars that the Mitra-cult was prevalent in Central Asia (or Čāka-Dvīpa) long before Mazdaism was promulgated. It would, therefore, be more reasonable to suppose that Mazdaism was derived from the Mitra-cult. In his translation of the Gāthā portion of the Zend Avesta, Mr. Mill writes:—

“As the Mithra-worship undoubtedly existed previously to the *Gāthic* period and fell into neglect at the *Gāthic* period, it might be said that the greatly later inscriptions represent Mazda-worship as it existed among the ancestors of Zarathustrians in a pre-Gāthic age or even Vedic age.”²

¹ “य एते भोजकाः प्रोक्ता देवदेवस्य पूजकाः ।

नान्नं भोज्यमथेतेषां ब्राह्मणैश्च कदाचन ।”

Bhaviṣya Brāhmap. Ch. 117.

“Brāhmanas should never take the food of those who are known as Bhojakas, and who worship the Sun, the god of gods.”

² Max Muller's Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXXI, p. xxx.



2.

Sūryya-deva from Ayodhyā.

Traces of the ancient Mitra-cult are still to be found at Ayodhyā, Purānagāo, Kānisāhi, and Domagaṇḍarā in Nilgiri State (Mayūrabhaṇja border) and also at Ādipur and Kiching in the Pāncpīr Subdivision of Mayūrabhaṇja State. Among the statues discovered in the ruins of these places, are figures of Mitra in two different postures, one sitting and the other representing him standing on seven horses. These are of great interest and deserve special mention.

The following description of the Mitra or Sun-god is given in the work called Viçvakarma Ćilpa :—

Mitra.

“[His] great chariot has one wheel and is drawn by seven horses ; He has a lotus in each of his hands, wears an armour and has a shield over his breast, has beautiful straight hair, is surrounded by a halo of light, has (good) hair and apparel, is decorated with gold (ornaments) and jewels, has on his right side the figure of Nikṣubhā and on the left that of his Rājñī (queen) with all sorts of ornaments and whose hair and necklace are bright. His chariot mentioned above is called by the name of Makara-dhvaja. He wears a crown. The figure is surrounded by a halo. Daṇḍa (Yama) is represented as one-faced and Skanda as having a bright conch-shell. These two figures with the form of man are placed in front. Vārc̥ha on a lotus is placed on a horse. His body is represented as lustrous and he is the one giver of light to all the worlds. A *Surya-mandala* is to be made by placing nutmeg and vermillion. He (Mitra) has four hands or only two with jewels adorning them. In both of his hands there are lotuses. He is seated on a chariot drawn by horses of variegated

colour. His two gate-keepers Daṇḍa (Yama) and Piṅgala (Agni) have swords in their hands.”¹

The statues found at Ayodhyā and Purāṇagāo correspond in a very considerable degree to the description given above. This statue has been found broken in some places ; of the other figures mentioned we find only those of Daṇḍa Nāyaka, and Piṅgala (the two attendants) and the charioteer. (Fig. 2). The recently discovered statue at Konārak closely follows the lines of the above account.²

According to the Bhaviṣya and the Čāmba Purāṇas, the Čakadvīpī Brāhmaṇas came to India with the object of worshipping the image of Mitra.

¹ “एकचक्रं सप्तशतं ससारथिं महारथम् ।

हस्तद्वयं पञ्चधरं कञ्चुकयन्त्रवत्तमम् ॥

अकुञ्चितसुकेशस्तु प्रभासण्डलमण्डितम् ।

केशवेशसमायुक्तं स्वर्णरत्नविभूषितम् ।

निक्षुभा दक्षिणे पार्श्वे वामे राज्ञी प्रकीर्तिता ॥

सर्वाभरणसंयुक्ता केशह्वारसमुज्ज्वला ।

एवमुक्तरथस्तस्य मकरध्वज ईष्यते ॥

मुकुटश्चापि दातव्यमन्त्रं सर्वं समण्डलम् ।

एकवक्त्राद्विती दण्डौ स्तब्ध स्तेजीकराभ्नुजम् ॥

कृत्वा तु स्थापयेत् पूर्वं पुरुषाकृतरूपिणौ ।

हयारुदस्तु कुर्वीत पञ्चस्थं वार्चनामकम् ॥

स दिव्यमानवपुष्पं सर्वलोकेकदोषकम् ।

जातिद्विजल्यसंख्याय कारयेत् सूर्यमण्डलम् ॥

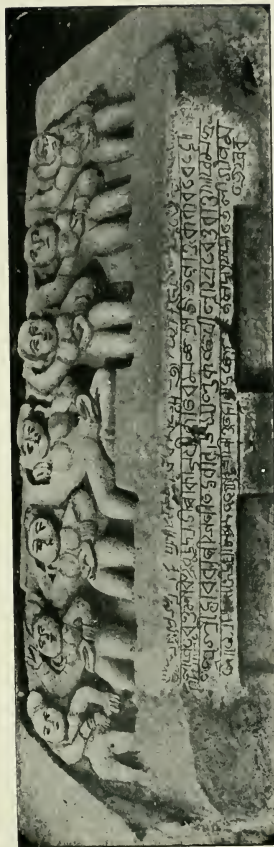
चतुर्बाहुर्द्वि हस्तौ वा रेखामणिविभाजना ।

द्विहस्तस्य सरोजम् शबलाश्चरथस्थितः ।

दण्डश्च दिङ्मलश्चैव द्वारपालौ च खड्गनि ।”

(Viçvakarma Cilpa MS. p. 30b-31a.—Compare also Bhaviṣya Purāṇa, Brāhmaṇapāraṇ, Ch.124-132.)

² Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India (1903-04), p. 438, Plate XXII.



Saptamātrikā from Soro.

It has already been mentioned that the influence of the Saura Brāhmaṇas in Jhārkhand or Mayūrabhañja dates from a very remote period. The results of their past achievements are now lying deeply buried under the earth in the midst of forests and hills. Besides the figures of Mitra found at Ayodhyā, Kānīsāhi, Domagaṇḍarā and Khiching the following are also worthy of note :—

(1) The representation in stone of a Sūrya-maṇḍala found in the temple of Kakhāruā Vaidyanātha at Māntri, Mayūrabhañja.

(2) The ruins of the temple of the Sun at the village of Soro (District Balasor).

(3) The figures of different goddesses locally called Sātabahini or seven sisters (Saptamātrikās) found in the above-mentioned village. Now preserved at the Balasor Rājabāti. (Fig. 3).

The Saura Brāhmaṇas also worshipped the images of Brahṁā, Viṣṇu, Maheṣvara, the Mātrikās, and of Nikṣubhā and Rājñī, the consorts of Sūrya, the two Aṇvinas, Agni (Piṅgala) and Daṇḍanāyaka (Yama) attendants on Sūrya, Mahā-ṣvetā, Skanda, Vināyaka and Kuvera. Thus we find it enjoined in the Bhaviṣya Brāhma-parvan¹ that the temple of the Sun-god should also have a place reserved in it for the images of these gods and goddesses.

¹ “भरनादक्षिणे पार्श्वे रवेः स्नानगृहं भवेत् ॥ ४८

अग्निहोत्रगृहं कार्यं रवेरुत्तरतः शुभम् ।

उदङ्मुखं भवेच्छुभो सातृणां गृहमेव च ॥ ४९

ब्रह्मा पश्चिमतः स्थाप्यो विष्णुर्नक्षत्रतस्तदा ।

निक्षुभा दक्षिणे पार्श्वे वामे राज्ञी प्रकीर्तिता ॥ ५०

We also find in the Lalita-Vistara that the figures of Çiva, Skanda, Nārāyaṇa, Kuvera, Chandra, Sūrya, Vaiṣṇavaṇa, Çakra, Brahmā and the Lokapālas were shown to the infant Siddhārtha.¹ Hence it may be presumed that the worship of these gods in the form of images existed in India before the time of the Buddha. It devolved upon the Çākadvīpī Brāhmaṇas to perform the worship of all such images. It was for this reason that they have all along been looked down upon as “*Devala*” Brāhmaṇas.² In times gone by these Brāhmaṇas were considered to be the only persons entitled to conduct the worship of the figures of Sūrya.³

Agni.

Though the most ancient scriptures of the Hindus point to the fact that the Indo-Aryans had been worshipping Agni (fire) from a remote period of history, yet it is nowhere recorded in

पिङ्गली दक्षिणे भानोर्वांसतो दण्डनायकः ।
 श्रीमहाश्वेतायाः स्थानं पुरतस्तृणमालिनः ॥ ५१
 ततः स्थाप्याश्विनी स्थानं पूर्वदेवगृहादहिः ।
 द्वितीयायां तु कचायां राज्ञास्त्रौषो व्यवस्थितौ ॥ ५२
 तृतीयायां तु कचायां स्थितौ कक्षापचिणौ ।
 जम्भकालचरौ स्थाप्यौ दक्षिणां दिशमाश्रितौ ॥ ५३
 उदौच्यां स्थापनीयन्तु कुवेरी लोकपूजितः ।
 उत्तरेण ततस्तस्य रैवन्तः स विनायकः ॥ ५४
 यत्र वा विद्यते स्थानं दिक्षु सर्व्वा गुहादयः ।
 इमे मण्डलेऽर्धादानार्थं कार्ये सव्यापस्यन्तः ॥ ५५

Bhavisya Brāhmap, Chap. 130.

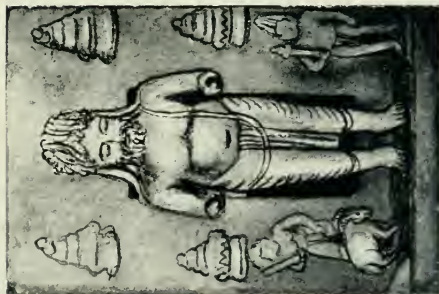
¹ “शिवस्तन्दनारायणकुवेरचन्द्रमूर्यवैश्वणशक्रब्रह्मलोकपालप्रभृतयः प्रतिमा रुच्याः स्वेभ्यः स्वेभ्यः स्थानिभ्यो ब्रुव्याथ बोधिसत्त्वस्य कमतलयो निपतन्ति ।”

Lalita-Vistara (Sec. 38), p. 137.

² Vide Brihaddharmapurāṇa, Uttarakhaṇḍa., Chap. 9.

³ “अधिपा भोजकाः सर्व्वे नान्ते विप्रादयो नृप ।”

Bhavisya Brāmaparvan, Ch. 117.



4. Agni from Domagandara.



10. Brahmā from Agodhaja.



5. Yama from Belasor.

them that Agni was worshipped in the form of any image. Such worship was probably introduced by the Maga Brāhmaṇas. We learn from the Bhaviṣya Brāhmaṇapāraṇa, the chief authority of the Çākadvīpī, that images of Agni used to be set up in the temples of Sūrya. The Sauras believed Agni not only to be an attendant on Sūrya, but also as the recorder of the good and evil acts of men.¹ Images of Agni have been found at Ayodhyā and Doma-gaṇḍarā in Nilgiri. The following descriptions of Agni are given in Viçvakarma-çilpa (chap. 7) :—

“He has a flag in his hand ; he is very powerful ; his eyes are red and his colour is that of smoke. He is surrounded by flames, is bright and has a halo of lustre. He is riding on a sheep, is placed in a Kuṇḍa and is surrounded by Yogapaṭṭa. On his right side there is Svāhā. He wears ear-rings made of jewels, he is beneficent in all yajñas (sacrifices), is holy and is decorated with ornaments of a grey colour.”²

The above description exactly corresponds with the image found at Doma-gaṇḍarā (Fig. 4).

Like Agni Yama³ is also regarded as an attendant on Sūrya. Both the Vedic and the Avestic

Yama.

¹ “लिखते यः प्रजानाञ्च सुकृतं यच्च दुष्कृतम् ।
अग्नेर्दक्षिणपार्श्वे तु पिङ्गलत्वात् स पिङ्गलः ॥”

² “Agni, who writes the good and evil deeds of men, stands on the right side (of Surya) and is called Pingala on account of his colour.” (Bhaviṣya Brāhmaṇapāraṇa, Chap. 124).

“अग्निरुक्ती महावीर्यं सामाचो धूमसन्निभः ।
ज्वालामालाकुलं दापं चास्त्राशक्तियुग्मखलम् ॥
मेवारुदं च कुण्डस्थं योगपट्टेन वेष्टितम् ।
दक्षिणं च स्थितं स्वाहा रत्नकुण्डलमण्डितम् ।
सर्व्वयागद्वितं पुण्यं पिङ्गभूषणमवितम् ॥”

³ Yima Khsaēta of Zend Avesta.—See Hang's *Parsis*, p. 277.

Aryans used to worship him. He is known in the Purāṇas as the son of Sūrya and is worshipped with Indra and other Lokapālas. The following description of Yama is given in Viçvakarma-çilpa :—

“He has a club and a pāça in his hands; his eyes are like a bright fire; he is seated on a large buffalo; his colour is like that of dark-blue collyrium. On his two sides there are figures of youthful persons who resemble him, whose chests are well-developed, who are heavenly, and who are strongly built. He stands at the door, he seems to be angry and is dreadful to the whole creation, having blue eyes. On his left and right sides there are the goddesses Māra and Dharā who represent *Dharma* (virtue) and *Adharma* (vice). He is the controller of rulers and his emblem is buffalo.”¹

An image of Yamarāja found in Balasor tallies with the above description. (Fig. 5).

Skanda.

Among the Sauras, Skanda was known as one of the attendants of Sūrya and called

¹ “दण्डपाणिः पाशहस्तो दीप्ताग्निसमलोचनः ।

महानद्विषमारुद्दी नीलाञ्जनचयीपसम् ॥

पाश्वर्धोरात्मसदृशैः पुरुषैः शुक्लपिभिः ।

पीनवक्षस्त्र्यलैर्द्व्यैः स्वभावेऽलवत्तरेः ।

हारैः समुत्थितः क्रुधन् सर्व्वलोकमयङ्करः ॥

नीललोचनसङ्काशैः द्वौ च सारधरे स्तियौ ।

वामदक्षिणपाश्वर्धे धर्माधरे समाह्वयौ ॥

शासितश्च यमः प्रीतो मद्विष्वजलाञ्छनः ।”



6. Skanda from *Dhadhuda*.



15. Skanda-Sasthi from *Tundara*.

"Srosh."¹ In the Zend Avesta he is known as "Sraoshâvareza"² or simply "Srosh".

He is described in the Avesta as holding a sword. The following is the description of him in the Bhavishya Brâhmaparvan :—

“स्कन्दः कुमाररूपः शक्तिधरो वह्निवैतुश्च ।” (१३२।३१)

“Skanda has the form of a prince, holds a çakti in his hand and his emblem is peacock.”

The worship of Skanda or Kârtikeya is to be traced from an ancient time in India. Mention is made, in the Lalita-Vistara, as we have seen, of the figure of Skanda. His worshippers went by the name of Kaumâra or Skānda. Temples dedicated to him existed in various parts of India. King Jayāditya of Kashmir saw a very large temple of Kârtikeya at Paundravardhana in the eighth century of the Christian era.³ Kârtikeya is represented as having either two, four or six arms. In modern figures he is represented as riding on a peacock, but in very ancient times he was shown astride a cock. Very old image of the latter type has been discovered at Dhudhūā. (Fig. 6).

¹ “सुरसेनापतित्वेन स यस्माद्दीप्यते सदा ।

तस्मात् स कार्तिकेयस्तु नाम्ना राज्ञ इति स्मृतः ॥

सु, गतौ च स्मृती धातुस्य स प्रत्ययः स्मृतः ।

गच्छतीति रद्वस्त्वस्मात् पर्यायात् खीष उच्यते ॥”

“As he shines as the commander of the army of the Devas, he is known as Kârtikeya. The root *sru* is used in the sense of going ; to this is added the suffix *sa*. As he goes fast, he is known by the name *Srosa*.” (Bhavishya Brâhmaparvan, Ch. 124, çl. 24).

² “In the Sraoshâvareza, who represents the angel Srosh ; holds in his hand a wooden sword to drive away the evil spirits.” (Haug's *Parsis*, p. 280).

³ Rājatarangini, Chap. 4.

**Subrah-
manya.**

Statues of Subrahmanya having as his emblem either a peacock or a cock, are found in various parts of Orissa. These are known by the people as images of Kārtikeya. The following description of Subrahmanya is found in the Sāradātilaka Tantra :—

“ We adore Subrahmanya, whose colour is red like vermilion, whose face is beautiful as a moon, who is decorated with *Keyūra*, necklace and other ornaments, who offers (to devotees) the happiness of heaven, who holds in his three hands a lotus, a *çakti* and a cock respectively and gives *abhaya* (protection from fear) with his fourth hand, whose body is painted with red colour, who wears a red cloth and who is about to destroy all objects of fear for those who bow down to him.”¹

An image of Subrahmanya of the above type has been found at Maṇināgeçvara. (Fig. 7).

Ganesa.

We find in the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa that Vināyaka used to be worshipped in the temple of Sūrya. Hence it is not unreasonable to infer that the worship of Vināyaka in the form of an image was also prevalent among the Saura Magas in very ancient times and afterwards adopted by the Hindus and Mahāyāna Buddhists alike. In Nepal, Buddhists as well as Hindus, even at the present day, invoke the god Vināyaka at the commencement of all work in order to attain

¹ “सिन्दूरारुणकान्तिमिन्दुवदनं केयूरहारादिभि-
र्द्रव्यैराभरणैर्विभूषिततनुं स्वर्गस्य सौख्यपदम् ।
अश्विजाभयप्रतिकुक्कुटधरं रक्ताङ्गरागांशुकं
सुवस्त्रम्बुपाखण्डे प्रणमतां भौतिप्रणामोद्यतम् ॥”



7. Subrahmanya from Manināgēgarā.



9. Ganēṣa from Kānisi.



8. Ganēṣa from Manināgēgarā.

success. In the temples in Nepal, whether Buddhist or Hindu, in China, Japan, Mongolia and even in the Indian Archipelagos, we find the figure of Ganeṣa or Bināyaka. In Buddhist scriptures he is known by name "Vināyaka", so also in Japan "Binayakia."¹ It is difficult to ascertain the exact period when this cult was introduced. We think it must have existed before the rise of Buddhism. On the north of the famous temple of Paṣupatinātha in Nepal there stands a very ancient one of Ganeṣa, "which is supposed to have been built in the third century B. C. by Chārumatī, a daughter of Aṣoka."² We find mention of fifty-four types of Ganeṣa in the Purāṇas and Tantras. Images of various types of Ganeṣa are also found in Java.³ In Mayūrabhaṇja and adjacent places, various types of Ganeṣa have been found, *e. g.*, with two, four, six and eight arms and so on. The image of Ganeṣa at Dhuḍhua is the oldest of all. From an artistic point of view, however, there is nothing remarkable in it. Some of the images of Ganeṣa at Khiching, however, possess high artistic merit.⁴ There is a very fine one of Ganeṣa with four arms, on the seaside at Maṇināgeçvara. This is about four feet in height. (Fig. 8). The two upper arms of this image are broken. He holds a rosary in his right lower hand and an Aṅkuṣa in the left, and is represented as standing on a lotus. To his right, there is his consort, with a mouse below her. A small and beautiful image of eight-armed Ganeṣa has been discovered at Kānisāhi and Domagaṇḍarā.

¹ Grünwedel's *Buddhist Art in India*, p. 183.

² Oldfield's *Nipal*, Vol. II, p. 198.

³ Raffles' *History of Java*, Vol. II.

⁴ *Vide* Mayurabhanja Archæological Survey, Vol. II for a description of the images at Kiching.

(Fig. 9). The images of Skanda and Vināyaka, both of whom are regarded as sons of Çiva, signify the existence of two sets of worshippers. Those of Skanda were against the worship of Nāgas, and the peacock, as the enemy of serpents, was regarded as his emblem. In many places, a serpent is found in the beak of the peacock ridden by Skanda. On the other hand, Vināyaka is represented as wearing a snake as a sacred thread and decorated with serpents. Hence it appears that the worshippers of Vināyaka were supporters of Nāga worship.

The following instructions for Dhyāna of the four-handed Ganeça are found in the Mantramohodadhi, (Chap. 2, çl. 92):—

“I adore Ganeça, who holds in his hands a horn, an aṅkuṣa, a rosary, and a pāça and holds sweet-meats on the tip of his proboscis, who has with him his consort, who is decorated with gold ornaments and who is bright as the rising sun.”¹

Brahma.

It has already been said that formerly the figure of Brahmā used to be enshrined in the temple dedicated to Mitra. We discovered a small statue of Brahmā at Ayodhyā in the place where the Mitra was found. The measurement of the figure is 9½" × 6". We find the following description in the Kālikā Purāṇa (Chap. 82)—

“Brahmā had four faces and has got four hands; holds *Kamandalu* in one of them. He sits sometime on red lotus and sometime on swan. His body is of high stature and of bright red

¹ “विषाणाङ्गुशरच्चमृत्तच्च पाशं दधानं करैर्मोदकं पुष्करेण ।
स्वपद्मा युतं हंसभूषाभराब्जं गणेशं समुद्यद्दिनेशभमौडं ॥”

complexion. He has got a *Kamandalu* in his left hand and a sacrificial pot in the right, has also got a rosary in the right lower and a sacrificial pot in the left lower hand. On the left side, he has a vessel for offerings, and Vedas in front. He has also Sarasvatī on the right and Sāvitrī on the left.”¹

This description corresponds to some extent with the small image found at Ayodhyā. The upper portion of the figure has become effaced and disfigured, of the four faces, only one being distinct. The upper left hand and the faces on the other sides are entirely broken. The figure stands on a red lotus, to the right of which are two swans. But here one misses the figures of Sarasvatī, Sāvitrī, and the four Vedas and vessels mentioned above.

CAIVA INFLUENCE.

Evidences of Çaiva influence are to be seen in many places of Mayūrabhañja. It is very difficult to ascertain the exact time when the

¹ “ब्रह्मा कमण्डलुधरयतुर्भक्तदत्तुर्भुजः ।
 कः शिविदत्तकमले हंसाकृतः कदाचन ॥
 वर्णनं रक्तगौराङ्गं प्रायस्तुङ्गाङ्ग उन्नतः ।
 कमण्डलुर्वामकरे सुधी हस्ते तु दक्षिणे ॥
 दक्षिणाधस्तया माला वामाधय तथा सुव ।
 आज्यस्थाखी वामपार्श्वे वेदाः सञ्ज्येतः स्थिताः ॥
 सावित्री वामपार्श्वस्था दक्षिणस्था सरस्वती ॥” (८२ अध्याय)

Çaiva cult was first introduced here, but it is an admitted fact that the worship of Çiva in the form of linga or other symbols had been in vogue for a very long while. Many are of opinion that linga worship had existed in this country even before the Āṅgīrasa Brāhmaṇas introduced image worship. But we think that the worship of Çiva in the form of Maheçvara is more ancient than is generally believed.

The Rudra form of Çiva was worshipped even in Vedic times, but we find that in the period of the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata Çiva-worship was already an established fact in the country. On the authority of the Lalita-Vistara and other Buddhist works we learn that Çiva-worship existed in India even before Buddhist influence. The French savant Dr. Eugene Burnouf has admitted that it existed in India so early as 600 B. C.¹

In the Vedas Rudradeva is recognised as one of the forms of Agni (Fire). Though the Ancient Aryans of India were worshippers of Çiva, Viṣṇu and other gods, and composed hymns in their praise, no evidence has up to this time come to light that they made images of those deities for worship. We are of opinion that the Brāhmaṇas and the Kṣatriyas of Çākadvīpa brought with them this form of image-worship which afterwards became common. It appears from the Brāhma-parvan of the Bhaviṣya purāṇa that Indra, Dhātṛi, Parjanya, Pūṣan, Tvaṣṭṛ, Aryaman, Bhaga, Vivasvat, Aṁṣu, Varuṇa and Mitra were recognised by the Mitra-worshipper as the several forms of Sūrya (Sun), and probably through their efforts the

* *Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme indien*, par E. Burnouf, pp. 131-132.



9.

Hara-Gauri from Kōtsāri.

image worship of these gods was imported to India from Central Asia.

The worship of these twelve deities has been in vogue from a very remote period of history. Several *mantras* of the Rigveda are offered in their honour. The following lines about these twelve occur in the Bhaviṣya Brāhmaparvan :—

“तस्य या प्रथमा मूर्तिरादित्यस्येन्द्रसंज्ञिता ।
 स्थिता सा देवराजत्वे दानवासुरनाशिनौ ॥
 द्वितीया चास्य या मूर्तिर्नाम्ना धातेति कीर्तिता ।
 स्थिता प्रजापतित्वे सा विधात्री मृजते प्रजाः ॥
 तृतीया तस्य या मूर्तिः पर्जन्य इति विश्रुता ।
 करेर्ध्वेव स्थिता सा तु वर्षत्यमृतमेव हि ॥
 चतुर्थी तस्य या मूर्तिर्नाम्ना पूषेति विश्रुता ।
 मन्त्रेर्ध्वेव स्थिता सा तु प्रजा पुष्णाति भारत ॥
 मूर्तिर्या पंचमी तस्य नाम्ना त्वष्टृति विश्रुता ।
 वनस्थतिषु सा नित्यमोषधीषु च वै स्थिता ॥
 षष्ठी मूर्तिस्तु या तस्य अर्यमेति च विश्रुता ।
 प्रजासंवरणार्थं सा पुरेर्ध्वेवस्थिता सदा ॥
 भानो र्या सप्तमी मूर्तिर्नाम्ना भग इति स्मृता ।
 भूमौ व्यवस्थिता सा तु दमाधरेषु च भारत ॥
 अष्टमी चास्य या मूर्तिर्विवस्त्रानिति संज्ञिता ।
 अग्नौ व्यवस्थिता सा तु पचतेऽन्नं शरीरिणाम् ॥
 नवमी चित्रभानो र्या मूर्तिरंशुरिति स्मृता ।
 वीरचन्द्रे स्थिता सा तु आप्याययति वै जगत् ॥
 मूर्तिर्या दशमी तस्य विष्णु रित्यभिधीयते ।
 प्रादुर्भवति सा नित्यं गीर्वाणारिविनाशिनौ ॥
 मूर्तिस्त्वेकादशी या तु भानोर्वरुणसंज्ञिता ।
 जीवाययति सा कृतस्त्रं जगद्धि समुपाश्रिता ॥
 मूर्तिर्या द्वादशी भानोर्नामतो मितृसंज्ञिता ।
 लोकानां सा हितार्थन्तु स्थिता चन्द्रसरित्तटे ॥” (७४ अध्याय)

Bhaga is one of the twelve. His other name is Çiva. From a study of Bhaviṣya Purāṇa and Zend Avesta of the fire-worshippers we learn that the Magas or Sauras at a very early period worshipped them as gods or angels.¹

It seems very probable that in the hilly tracts of Mayūrabhañja Çiva worship was introduced in very ancient times. Among the ruins of Kōisārigaḍa an antique figure of Hara-Gaurī has been discovered. In the Sanskrit drama Mṛcchakaṭi ('Toy-cart) by Çūdraka which belonged to the first century A. D. Çiva is described as follows :—

“पातु वो नीलकण्ठस्य कण्ठः श्यामाम्बुदोपमः ।

गौरीभुजलता यत्र विदुमल्लेखेव राजते ॥”

(मृच्छकटिकं नाट्ये ।)

“Let the neck of Nilakanṭha (the blue-throated) which has the hue of dark-blue clouds, and entwining which shines forth arm of Gaurī like a streak of lightening, protect you.”

Hara-Gauri.

The figure of Çiva-Gaurī discovered among the ruins of Kōisārigaḍa exactly corresponds with the above description of the Mṛcchakaṭi (Fig. 11).

Beside each shoulder of the aforesaid image of Hara-Gaurī, is a small figure of a Centaur wearing a turban. These Centaurs have Scythian features. Dr. Grunwedel is of opinion that these figures have been introduced into India from Western Asia. In all possibility they were brought by the Scythians. According to Grecian Mythology “the centaurs formed part of the retinue of Bacchus.”² Here too we find the figure, of a centaur by the side of Bhagavat.

¹ Haug's *Parsis*, p. 273-276.

² Encyclopædia Britannica, Vol. V. p. 340 (9th Edition).

The following description, which corresponds exactly with the above image, is found in the *Sāradātilaka Tantra* (Chap. 18):—

“वन्धूकामं त्रिनेत्रं शशिशकलधरं स्मेरवर्तुतं दहन्तं
हस्तेः शूलं कपालं वरदमभयदं चारुहारं भजामि ।
वामोरुस्तम्भगायाः करतलत्रिलसञ्चारक्तोत्पलाया
हस्तेनास्त्रिष्टुदेहं मणिमयत्रिलसद् भूषणायाः प्रियायाः ॥”²

“I adore (Çiva) whose complexion is like the colour of *Vandhuka* flower, who has three eyes, who holds a crescent of the moon (on his forehead), who has a smiling face, who holds in his hands a trident and a skull and offers boons and protection from fear, who wears a beautiful necklace and who embraces with his hand the body of his consort, who is seated on his left thigh, holds in her hand a beautiful red lotus and is decorated with ornament made of jewels.”

Çiva is generally depicted as being white, whereas the above description of the idol is vermillion, the colour of the *Vandhūka* flower, and thus resembles the image of the Sun-god having the hue of *Javā* (the China rose). In all likelihood it is an image of Bhaga, a form of Çiva,

² The *Nibandha Tantra* gives the following description of *Hara-Pārvatī* :—

“वन्दे सिन्दूरवर्णं मणिमुकुटसञ्चारुचन्द्रावतंसं
भालीयन्नेत्रमौशं स्मितमुखकमलं दिव्यभूषाङ्गरागम् ।
वामोरुस्तम्भपाणोरुषणकुवलयं संदधत्याः प्रियाया
वचोत्तुङ्गस्तनायै निहितकरतलं शूलटङ्गं षडङ्गम् ॥”

“I salute *Iça* (Çiva) whose colour is that of vermillion, who wears a crown of jewels with a beautiful moon (on the head) who has shining eyes on the forehead, who has a smiling lotus-like face, who wears bright ornament, who has placed the palm of his hand on the tip of the high and round breast of his consort, who has placed her hand on his left thigh and holds a red lotus (in the other), and who holds in his hands a trident and a *Tanka*.”

which is one of the twelve Ādityas worshipped by the Sauras. From Arrian we learn that the worship of Bacchus was much in vogue in the Punjab at the time when Alexander invaded India. So the Indian "Bacchus" would seem to be identical with "Bhaga." According to Arrian, Bacchus was also known by the name of Thriambos,¹ who is no other than the Tryambaka (त्र्यम्बक) of the Vedas and Purāṇas. We find in Lalita-Vistara and also in the accounts given by one of the Chinese travellers, that the Çākhyas of the Kapilavāstu were worshippers of Çiva. In the latter account we find the following:—"Outside this gate, was a temple of Īṣvaradeva containing a stone image of the God in the attitude of rising and bowing. This was the temple into which the infant prince (the P'usa), on the way from the place of his birth to the palace, was carried by command of the king his father, (who was present with the party) to be presented to the god according to the custom of the Çākhyas."²

The image of Bhagavat at Kōisāri-gaḍa is about $4\frac{1}{2}' \times 4'$.

There is another four-armed image near the one mentioned above, the workmanship of which is of the average standard. This image has in the right upper hand a small drum (ḍamaru), in the right lower hand a bowl and in the left upper hand a rosary of Akṣa. The left lower arm is broken. On either side of the image is an associate, one holding a trident and the other with a uplifted hand. Near its feet is a vulture (Çakuni) on the right, and a monkey-faced figure

¹ M'Crindle's *Arrian*, p. 179.

² Watters : *On Yuan Chuang*, Vol. II, p. 13. Cf. *Lalita-Vistara* (As. Soc. Edn.), p. 137.



8. *Ajai kapāda from Kōisāri.*

(Nandi) standing with folded hands on the left. (Fig. 12). Some consider this image to be that of Matsya Avatāra, while others think it is that of Ekapāda Bhairava. But it has no resemblance to either of them, as they are described in the Purāṇas and the Tantras. We may take it to be only another form of Īva, as it has a *damaru* and a rosary of *aksas* in its hands.

Ajaikapād is one of the eleven Rudras. There are hymns in his honour in the Rig-veda. The celebrated historian Diodorus writes:—"The Sacæ originated from a maiden named Ella, born of the Earth. The portion of the body of this maiden from the waist upwards is that of a woman and the lower part is that of a snake. Scythes was born of this maiden and Jupiter."¹ The lower part of the image, as already mentioned, has the form of a snake and we believe it is an image of Ajaikapād conceived after the form of Ella, the mother of the Īakas. Ajaikapād may be considered the husband of Ella, as he is also known in the Rig-veda as Daṣṭipitar (Jupiter). It has been stated above that the Īakas presented the ancient Vedic gods in different forms of the Sun. Ajaikapād, one of these Vedic gods, must therefore, have been presented in such a form. Viewing it in this light, we consider the image just referred to to be an embodiment of one of the solar myths. The presentation and worship of Ajaikapād in this form probably occurred during the ascendancy of the Īakas. The same thing may be said with regard to the red, four-armed image of Iṣa mentioned above. The image of Ajaikapād appears to belong to the Scythian period of architecture. Over its head is a

Ajaikapad.

¹ Diodorus Siculus, Book II.

small figure of Dhyānī Buddha, which forms part of its coronet. It clearly appears from this that the image was brought and worshipped by the Buddhists. It is said that the Mahāyāna Buddhism was introduced with a view to harmonise the different conflicting sects of Çaivaism, Çāktaism and minor sub-divisions of Buddhism, and the above image appears to have belonged to that period of Indian History which marks the introduction of the Mahāyāna faith into this country. Images of Mahākāla, with a trident and a skull in his hands are, up to this day, worshiped by Hindus and Buddhists alike in Nepal. He is known amongst the Hindus as Çiva and amongst the Newari Buddhists as Vajrapāni, the son of Akṣobhya Buddha. A small figure of Akṣobhya Buddha is to be seen in the coronet of Mahākāla.¹ That image of Nepal seems to be only another form of Ajaikapād mentioned above.

Çiva in the form of Linga is to be seen all over Mayūrabhañja. But these Linga-forms appear to belong to a later age than the four-armed images of Çiva. The early Bhañja kings are described in the copper-plates as Mahāçaiṇya or "great Çaivas," and it is quite probable that Linga-worship was prevalent at the time of their ascendancy. But it is difficult to ascertain the exact period when Linga-worship was first introduced into Mayūrabhañja.

Lingas do not seem to have been looked upon with reverence by the ancient Aryans of India ; indeed worshippers of Linga in ancient times were ridiculed as "worshippers of the phallus". This is clearly seen in the following verses in the Uttara-khaṇḍa of Padma-purāṇa :---

“He is not to be worshipped by the twice-born. The food, water, leaves, fruits and garlands offered to Çiva will not be acceptable.”¹

The feelings which inspired the Padma Purāṇa in taking this view of the Liṅga worship only echo in a modified form the hostile sentiments against the Phallic-worshippers expressed by Rīṣis of old in the hymns of the Rik-Veda.² The line in the Brahma Purāṇa “Rice, leaves, flowers, water offered to Çiva are not to be accepted”³ also breathes the same adverse feeling.

In all the *Tantras*, however, Liṅga-worship is enjoined as a bounden duty for all castes. It appears that worship of Liṅgas was introduced into Indo-Aryan Society by the Tāntrikas. The Chinese travellers Fa-Hian and Hiuen-Tsiang observed Liṅga-worship in India. There is, therefore, no doubt that it was adopted by the higher classes of the Hindus long before the fifth century of the Christian era.

Kuṭiṅg or Koṭi-liṅga in Mayūrabhaṅja is the centre of Liṅga worship. This place is included in Parganā Kōisāri. There is a tradition that it derives its name from the fact that a crore of Liṅgas were at one time enshrined here. It is perhaps referred to as Koṭṭāgrama in the copper-plate of Raṇa-Bhaṅjadeva. The place has, for many centuries past, been deserted and overgrown with jungle.

Dhūdhuā or Prāchī-tīrtha comes next in importance. One Svayambhū-liṅga stands on a hill in this place. The Prācī-tīrtha pours its waters

¹ See Cabdakalpadruma (Devanāgarī Edn) Vol. IV, p. 218.

² Vide Rik-Samhita 7, 21, 5 ; 10, 99, 3.

³ Vide Brahma Purana quoted by Raghunandana in his Ahnika-tattva, p. 178.

on the head of this Liṅga and thence flows towards the river Gaṅgāhāra. There is another Liṅga lying uncared for near this Tirtha. The place above it contains numerous objects of interest belonging to the Çaiva period more than a thousand years old. It is expected that many such interesting objects will be exhumed if places like Kuṭiṅg and Dhudhuā be properly excavated. The Jhāḍeçvara and the Nṛsimheçvara of Peḍāgaḍi and the Chandraçekhara of Khiching¹ are also worth mention. These are considered to be the oldest of the Çiva Liṅgas in Mayūrabhaṅja. The old temples enshrining them are now in a delapidated condition. The Çiva-liṅga most widely known amongst the Çaivas now-a-days is that of Kakhāruā Vaidyanātha of Māntri. This temple was built in the sixteenth century of the Christian era.² Thousands of pilgrims flock here from distant places to offer worship to this Liṅga even at the present day.

Kshetra-
pala.

Images of Kṣetrapāla are almost invariably found at the entrance of ancient temples consecrated to Çiva Liṅgas. There is a grim image of Bhairava, four feet in height, on the left side of the entrance of the temple of Maṇināgeçvara. It is known by the people as Mahākāla. On his head are many serpents entwined like braided hair. His eyes are like large balls. All his teeth are exposed, while a snake constitutes his sacred thread. He wears a garland of heads dangling down to his waist. He has four hands. There is a rosary of *akshas* in his right upper hand, a skull or a begging-bowl in his left upper, and

¹ See Archæological Survey of Mayurabhanja, Vol. II.

² For particulars see Report on Māntri.

MAYURABHANJA ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY.



13. Ksetrapāla from Manināgeṇvara.

a mace in his left lower hand. He holds up his right lower hand in the attitude of affording protection. (Fig. 13). The above description corresponds with that of Kṣetrapāla in the Tantras. Thus :—

“नीलाञ्जनाद्रिनिभमूर्ध्नि पिशङ्गकेशं
वृत्तोग्रलोचनमुपात्तगदाकपालम् ।
आशाम्बरं भुजगभुषणमुग्रदंष्ट्रं
क्षेत्रेशमङ्गुततनुं प्रणमामि देवम् ॥”

सारदातिलक, २० पः ।

“I salute the god Kṣetreṣa who is like a hill of black collyrium. His hairs are tawny and upright. His eyes are round and fierce. He holds a mace and a skull. His ornaments consist of snakes. His teeth are fierce. His body is strange.”

SERPENT-WORSHIP.

Serpent-worship has prevailed in Mayūra-bhañja from ancient times. This cult gained a footing here with the ascendancy of the Nāga dynasty, which is considered to be one of the branches of the Scythian race. These Nāgas spread their influence not only over India, but at one time over the whole of the civilized world. Alexander the Great observed Dragon-worship and the influence of serpent-worshippers in the Punjab.¹

Of serpent-worship we have seen illustrations in relief on the eastern gateway of Sanchi.² Uruvilva Kāṣyapa, before he was

¹ Cunningham's Archaeological Survey Report, Vol. II, p. 9.

² Ferguson's Tree and Serpent Worship, p. 133.

initiated by Buddha, was held in high reverence all over Magadha as an apostle of serpent-worship. In the ancient reliefs of Sanchi he is represented as worshipping serpents.¹ In Buddhist writings he is thus described :—"Fire-worshipper, a great astrologer and fortune-teller, he had extraordinary magical powers."² We find in this description characteristics of a Maga or Scythian Brāhmaṇa.

The Nāga race once exerted great influence all over India, the traces of that influence are still found in several places. Even at the time of the 23rd Tirthaṅkara Pārṣvanātha (8th century B. C.) the Nāgas dwelt near Mayūrabhaṇja.³ They were very powerful until the time of the Gupta emperors. After they had been defeated by the Emperor Samudra Gupta, they continued to wield considerable power till the early part of the seventh century of the Christian era. The Nāga family of Mayūrabhaṇja was known by the name of Vairāṭa Bhujāṅga or simply the Vairāṭa or Virāṭa family. Evidences of serpent-worship by the Vairāṭa dynasty are also found in many places of Mayūrabhaṇja as far as Rāibaniā in the district of Midnapur on the north, Virāṭagaḍa near Khiching on the south, Koptipādā and Nilgiri on the east and Sirsā on the west. This dynasty flourished in Mayūrabhaṇja before the Bhaṇja Rājās rose to power there. The Nāga Kings probably took refuge in the hill tracts of Mayūrabhaṇja and Chota-Nagpur on being driven out of their original home by the Emperor Harṣavardhana. Hence it appears that

¹ Grunwedel's Buddhist Art in India, p. 62.

² Watter's On Yuan Chuang, Vol. II, p. 133.

³ See Jaina Influence.



13.

Nāgamātā from Kōisāri.

the power of the Vairāṭa Rājās of Mayūrabhaṇja dates from the seventh century A. D. The Pāṭamuṇḍi hill near Purāḍihā is known as the original seat of the Serpent-goddess, who was the tutelary deity of the Vairāṭa dynasty. There was near this hill a stone image of the goddess which has long since been removed. It is now preserved in the house of the Sarbarāhkār of the Bhujāṅga dynasty of Koptipādā and is worshipped by him. The image of Kinchaka Nāga carved on the Pāṭamuṇḍi hill is another proof of serpent-worship by the Vairāṭa Rājās. The image known, by the name of Kinchakeçvarī, or Khichingeçvarī, now situated at Khiching in Pāñchpīr and regarded as the tutelary deity of the Bhaṇja Rājās, was formerly worshipped by the Vairāṭa Bhujāṅgas.¹ The lower half of the image of the goddess Vairāṭapāṭa Thākuraṇī at Koptipādā and Rāibaniā has the form of a serpent while the upper half of the image presents a human form. This image appears to be identical with that of Ellā, the mother of the Scythians which was worshipped in Central Asia, as described by Diodorus. A figure has been discovered, amongst the ruins of Kōisārigaḍa, which appears to be only a different form of this goddess. She wears a head-dress of serpent-hoods, and clasping a bowl in both hands, presents with her closed eyes the attitude of meditation. (Fig. 14A). The goddess, though once considered the chief object of worship of the Bhujāṅga family, is now neglected and receives worship only from a low-class Dehuri of the village. It is known by the people of the place by the name of Koṭāsani. The figure was probably placed in the fort of

Nagamata

¹ See Archaeological Survey of Mayurabhanja, Vol. II.

this place and worshipped at the time of the ascendancy of the Vaiṣṇava dynasty, deriving probably from this fact, its name “Kṣtavāsini” or “Koṭāsani.” This figure is in all likelihood that of Manasā, the chief deity of the serpent-worshippers. The following description of her is found in the Tantra :—

“Om! I salute the goddess, who is the mother of serpents, has a face like a moon, is of beautiful complexion, is benign, rides on a swan, is noble-minded, wears a red garment, always bestows all things (to her devotees), has a smiling face, has her body decorated with various ornaments of gold, jewel and nāga-gems, has with (her) eight serpents, has got two high breasts, is a yoginī and is beautiful.”¹

At the village of Tuṇḍarā, district Balasor, situated on the seaside within the Zamindari of the Nilgiri Rāj, another ancient image of a Nāga goddess has been discovered. This goddess is two-armed and seated on a lotus; she is adorned with various ornaments and wears on her head a covering of hoods of seven snakes. On her left thigh is seated an infant which she encircles with her left arm, while in her right hand she holds a cobra. (Fig. 15). People consider this goddess to be Manasā Devī. But in our humble opinion it is a figure of Skandaśaṣṭhī, thus described in the Tantra :—

Skanda-
Sasthi.

¹ “बौ देवीमन्त्रासिनीनां अश्वत्थवदनां चारुकान्तिं वदान्यां
हंसारुदामुदारामरुणितवसनां सर्वदा सर्वदैव ।
स्मेरास्यां मण्डिताङ्गीं कनकमणिगणेषुनागरवैरिण्यै
वन्देहं साटनागामुरुकुचयुगलां योगिनीं कामरूपाम् ॥”



14. Manasā from Tundarā.



15. Skanda-shashthi from Chashākhānd.

“Om! One should meditate upon Skanda-
ṣaṣṭhī as having two arms, of young age, giving
boons and encouragements, having a white com-
plexion, a great goddess decorated with various
ornaments, wearing a bright garment, having
a beautiful son on her left thigh, with a benign
face, everlasting, mother of the world, giver
of happiness, having all sorts of good signs,
(on her body) having well-developed breasts, and
always residing on the Vindhya hill.”¹

The Vairāta Rājās perform the worship of
the Nāgamātā and of eight Nāgas in their res-
pective hearths. This form of worship of the
Nāgamātā in the kitchen is of very ancient
origin. In all probability the Nāga Dynasty
(Napas of Diodorus) which is a branch of the
Scythian race, introduced it from Central Asia.
We also learn from the accounts of Herodotus
that the goddess of the hearth was a principal
object of worship by the Scythians. In all possi-
bility she has come to be regarded as the
Nāga-mātā by the Vairāta Dynasty of Mayūra-
bhañja and the same goddess is worshipped by
the Hindus of Bengal as Manasā every year in
the month of August and September in their
kitchens. This form of worship is perhaps a
relic of the great influence once wielded by the
Nāga Dynasty. This god of the hearth has been
called Tabitā or Tabiti by Herodotus. In the

¹ “सौ द्विभुजा युवती षष्ठौ वराभययुतां स्मरेत् ।
गौरवर्णा महादेवी नानालङ्कारभूषिताम् ॥
दिश्वस्त्रपरीधानां वामकोङ्के सुपुष्पिकाम् ।
प्रसन्नवदनां नित्यां जगद्गात्रीं सुखप्रदाम् ।
सर्वलक्षणसम्पन्नां पीनोन्नतपयोधराम् ।
एवं ध्यायेत् स्कन्दषष्ठौ सर्वदा विस्वासिनीम् ॥”

Sāradā-tilaka Tantra we find the following description of the goddess Tvaritā:—

“I salute goddess Tvaritā, the Kairātī¹ goddess, who is black in complexion, has a crest of peacock feather, wears a garment of leaves, has a garland of Guñjā (*Abrus Precatorius*) on her breast, is surrounded by the eight chief serpents, is decorated with large ear-rings, bracelets, a girdle-cord, and jingling anklets, gives boons and encouragement with her hands and has three eyes.”²

The image of this goddess has many points of resemblance with that of Koṭāsani found in Kōisārigaḍa. The goddess Tavitā of the Scythians is not unlikely to have been worshipped as Tvaritā by the Indian Āktas and as the snake-goddess Manasā by the Nāgas or the serpent-worshippers.

THE VAISNAVA INFLUENCE.

Viṣṇu is one of the earliest deities of the Hindu pantheon, but in those parts of Mayūrabhañja which we have had the opportunity of visiting, we have not found any trace of the

¹ Kairāta means a particular serpent, but the Kairātī of the text here very likely means the serpent-goddess.

² “श्यामां वर्द्धिकलापशेखरयुवामाबद्धपद्मैश्वकाम्
गुञ्जाहारलसत् पयोधरभरामष्टाङ्घ्रिपान् विभतीम् ।
ताटङ्गाङ्गदमेखलागुणरन्ध्रज्जीरितान् प्रापितान्
कैरातीं वरदामयीयतकरां दिवीं विनेवां भजे ।”



16. Vāsudeva.



17. Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa.



19. Varāha Avatāra.



18. Garuda from Kānīsāhi.

influence of the Vaiṣṇava cult. We have seen from passages in the Rasikamaṅgala that the Bhaṅja Rājās and the people of Mayūrabhaṅja were either Čaivas or Čāktas before the time of Rājā Vaidyanāth Bhaṅja (1575 A. D). The temples of Buḍa Jagannātha at Bāripadā and of Rasika-Rāya at Haripur, built by Rājā Vaidyanātha Bhaṅja are the earliest indications of Vaiṣṇava influence that can be found. The temples of Rādhā-Mohana and Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa at Haripur and the Guṇḍichā temple at Vṛindāvanapur were erected under the orders of Rājā Vikramāditya Bhaṅja. The image of Vāsudeva found at the village of Baḍasāi adjacent to Kōṣāli was also constructed under the orders of that Rājā. Although the image is small, its workmanship is of no mean order. It corresponds to the form of Nārāyaṇa described in Sārādātilaka. The description runs thus:—"I adore thee, O holder of the universe, who has the colour of the rising sun, who holds in his hands a conch-shell, a mace, a lotus and a disc, who has on his sides Indirā (Lakṣmī) and Vasumatī, who is adorned with a crown, an armlet (aṅgada), a necklace and ear-rings, who is clothed with an yellow garment, who wears the bright diamond Kaustubha and who has on his breast the Črīvatsa mark."¹

Vasudeva.

The image referred to above has on its left side the figures of Lakṣmī and on its right that of Vasumatī (Fig. 16). A beautiful image of

¹ "उद्यद्वाकराभमनिशं शङ्खं गदा पङ्कजं

चक्रं विभक्तमन्दिरावसुमतीसंशोभिपार्श्वद्वयम् ।

कीटोराङ्गदङ्गारकुण्डलधरं पीताम्बरं कौस्तुभं

दीप्तं विश्वरं स्ववच्चविलसच्छ्रीवत्सविङ्गं भजे ॥"

(१५३ पटल ।)

Laksmi
Narayana.

Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa has also been found at Kānisāhi in the Nilgiri State. This image seems to be more ancient than that at Kōçāli in which Lakṣmī is represented as standing, whereas in that of Kānisāhis he is represented on her knees with folded hands (Fig. 17).

Garuḍa.

A fine figure of Garuḍa, which probably belonged to the image of Nārāyaṇa already mentioned has also been discovered. The worship of Garuḍa like that of Viṣṇu existed in India from very ancient times. His great power and influence are described in many Buddhist Jātaka (birth) stories. Figures of Garuḍa are also found in many ancient Buddhistic structures.¹ Just, beside the above-mentioned image of Garuḍa, (Fig. 18) is one of Varāha Avatāra.² (Fig. 19).

Varaha.

THE JAINA INFLUENCE.

The exact period when Jainism first gained ascendancy in Mayūrabhañja has not yet been ascertained. The influence of the teaching and religion of Pārçvanātha, the 23rd Tīrthaṅkara, spread in Aṅga, Vajga and Kaliṅga. We learn from the Bhagavatī Sūtra, one of the earliest Jaina works, and also from the life of the 23rd

¹ *Vide* Grunwedel's Buddhist Art in India, pp. 48-52.

² The following description of the Avatāra is quoted in the Padārthhādāra (a commentary of Sāradātīlaka) by Rāghava Bhatta :—

‘कृष्णारुणस्वतिनीलवक्त्रनलिनं पद्मस्थितं खाड्गं
चौथीशक्तिमुदारवाहुभिरयो शङ्खं गदामखजम् ।
वक्रं विभक्तमुग्रकालिमनिशं देवं वराहं भजे ॥’

(१५५ पटल)



Tīrthaṅkara by Bhāvadeva, that after preaching his doctrines in Puṇḍra and Tāmralipta, Pārçvanātha went to the place of Nāgas. On the way, four Çrāvakas, viz., Çiva, Sundara, Saumya and Jaya, became his disciples. It is stated in the Jaina Kṣetra-Samāsa and in various other such works, that having left Tāmralipta, Pārçvanātha came to a place called Kopakaṭa or Kopakaṭaka, where, on the second day of his initiation, he broke his fast in the house of Dhanya. From this incident Kopakaṭa came to be called Dhanyakata and regarded as one of the most sacred shrines of the Jainas. This Kopakaṭaka or Kopakapuri is known as Kopāri in the district of Balasor and is situated near the border of Mayūrabhañja. On either side of the image of Pārçvanātha found in the ruins of Kösāli near Baḍasāi, may be seen four figures, two standing and two sitting. These are probably the figures of the four disciples of Pārçvanātha mentioned above. (Fig. 20).

Parçvanātha.

We learn from the Jaina Kalpasūtra that Pārçvanātha Svāmin obtained Mokṣa in the year 777 B.C. It is possible that with the advent of Pārçvanātha in Mayūrabhañja and the Nilgiri border, some of his disciples, also known as Jaina *Cravakas*, came to this place. But as Jainism could not be popular with the people, their presence did not leave any permanent result there. From outward appearance, it seems that the above statue of the 23rd Tīrthaṅkara with a Scythian cap, belongs to the remote period when the Kusumba Kṣatriyas¹ were in power in Mayūrabhañja.

Although time, has to a great extent, robbed the figure of its beauty, yet it attests the influence

¹ For a description of the Kusumba Kṣatriyas, see Part III of the Introduction.

which Jainism once had on the place some 2000 years ago. One large image of Pārçvanātha has been found in the bed of the river Sona near a place known as Pundāl in the Nilgiri State. This image is a fine specimen of the ancient sculptural art of the Jainas. As stated, the image was found in the river-bed. This may be due to the priests who probably threw it into the river to save it from the hands of iconoclasts. A snake spreading its hood over the head of the image serves the purpose of an umbrella. On the upper part of the figures close by the umbrella, both to right and left, are fairies and below them Gandharvas and Kinnaras, while below these again are the figures of 8 planets represented in the posture of meditation. The 9th Ketu is not found on the group. Jaina scriptures speak of such images as "Navagrahārchita Pārçvanātha", *i. e.*, "the Pārçvanātha worshipped by nine planets." The measurement of the complete figure is 4'6" by 2'8". Though the image has lost its nose, its artistic beauty has not altogether vanished. (Fig. 21). Its appearance and condition indicate that it belonged to a later date than that of the Pārçvanātha image found at Kōçāli.

Another fine image of Pārçvanātha in a sitting posture may be seen in the temple of Buḍā Jagannātha at Bāripadā (Fig. 22).

The last Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra otherwise called Vardhamāna Svāmin, was once worshipped in Mayūrabhañja. Evidences of this worship are still to be found at the village of Rānibandha which is only 3 miles distant from Baḍasāi. At Bhīmapur, a village situated at a distance of eight miles to the south-east of the



21. Navagrahārchita Vāṅṇanātha from Paṇḍit.

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22.

Dhyāni Pāṇyanātha from Bāripadā

town of Balasor, many old stone images have been discovered, which are supposed to be likenesses of Vardhamāna Svāmin. About ten or twelve years ago when excavating a tank at Bhīmapur, a very beautiful figure of Mahāvira was found only 5 cubits below the surface. This figure is 5 feet in height. On each side of the image may be observed diminutive figures of 24 Tīrthaṅkaras of both the Utsarpiṇī and Avasarpiṇī. It has been kept by Rājā Vaikunṭha Nāth De Bahadur in his palace-garden. (Fig. 23). The workmanship of the image is very fine. At Bhīmapur we found some more little figures of Mahāvira Svāmin placed under the trees. People worship these figures as those of goddess Durgā and others. The general belief is that there are still many more such (Jaina) figures lying underground. Traces of Jaina influence are also to be found at Vardhanpur, near Bhīmapur. The name Vardhanpur is perhaps a contraction of Vardhamānapur and Vardhamāna is another name of Mahāvira Svāmin after whom the village was named. At the time of the Jaina ascendancy the villages of Bhīmapur and Vardhamānapur were known by the latter name.

Mahavira.

There are also further evidences of the Jaina influence once prevalent in Orissa. Last winter we went to a village called Jhāḍeṣvarapur* in the Parganā Kushamandal, 24 miles to the north-east of Cuttack, in search of inscriptions and copper-plates. Local tradition has it that in very ancient times a Rājā of Jhārkhand (Mayūrabhaṅja?) founded a Ćiva Liṅga named Jhāḍeṣvara and built a great temple over it. From the

* Jharressurpur of the Trigonometrical Survey Atlas-Sheet No. 115. Lat. 20° 29' N : Long. 86° 18' 25" E.

name of the idol the place came to be known as Jhāḍeḡvarapur. The ancient temple of Jhāḍeḡvara is now in complete ruins, but recently at the time of excavating the place some very important and valuable relics, evidently belonging to the glorious period of Jainism, were discovered in the locality. They excel all other works of art under Jaina influence to be found in the whole of Orissa. Figures of Tirthāykaras and those of many Gaṇadharas, Pūrva-dharas, Ārāvaka and Ārāvikaś have been discovered under the earth. Among these we find the figures of *Jina* either absorbed in meditation (Dhyāna) in a sitting posture or standing naked. (Fig. 23A). The fine sculpturing of these figures produces a striking impression. They are of beautiful chlorite stone and range from 2 to 6 feet in height. If this place were systematically explored, it is possible that many more figures and even ruins of ancient temples might be discovered.

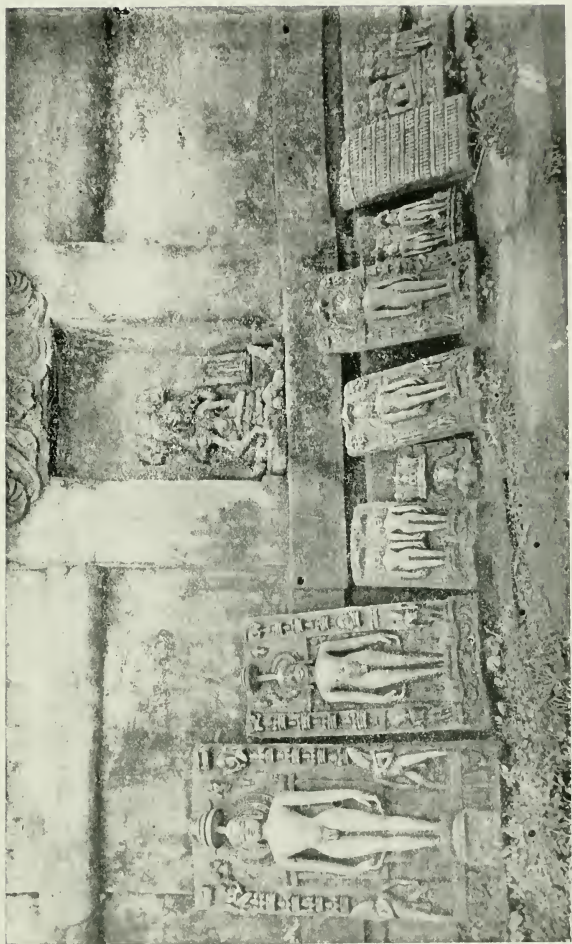
Many Jaina figures have lately been found at Khiching as well as at places close to Ādipur the ancient capital of Mayūrabhañja. We are of opinion that they were made at the time of the Kusumba Kṣatriyas.*

INFLUENCE OF BUDDHISM.

There are evidences of Buddhistic influence in various parts of Mayūrabhañja. It is difficult to ascertain at what period Buddhism was originally introduced here. It is, however,

* See Part III of the Introduction.





Tirthankaras and others from *Jhāḍgerapur*.

recorded in the Buddhistic work called *Dāthavaṃsa*, that after the *pari-nirvāṇa* of Buddha, when his body was being cremated, one of his disciples called Kṣema secured a tooth of Buddha from the funeral pyre and made a present of it to Brahma Datta, king of Kalinga. The king had a golden temple built in his capital and placed the holy tooth in it. From this, the capital of Kalinga came to be known as “Danta-puri” (the city of the tooth). In the district of Midnapur, near the Mayūrabhañja border, there is a large and well-known village, a railway station, and a *chauki* called Dāntan, Dātan or Dāntun. We have found this place to be identical with Danta-puri.¹ The ignorant villagers now attribute the name of the place to the tooth-brush of Ṣrī Chaitanya being left there. This is absurd, as the place contains many relics of a remote ancient past, far anterior to the time of Ṣrī Chaitanya. But in this story is perhaps preserved a faint recollection of the tradition of the place being sacred in connection with Buddha’s tooth. The village was once within the limits of Mayūrabhañja. There are still zemindaries in Parganā Dāntan, which belong to the Mayūrabhañja State.

Ṣāmaleṣvara, the name of the celebrated Mahādeva of Dāntan, seems to be only a corrupt form of Ṣramaṇeṣvara, which is one of the names of Buddha. The temple of Ṣramaṇeṣvara on the banks of Suvarṇa-rekhā in ancient times attracted pilgrims from very distant places. No trace of it now remains except in the ruins near the old bed of Suvarṇa-rekhā. By its side stands the modern temple of Ṣāmaleṣvara, built by a Ṣaiva devotee, who had set up a

¹ Dr. Rajendralāl Mitra’s *Antiquities of Orissa*. Vol. II., pp. 105-107.

linga and a beautiful image of the sacred bull of Çiva. Some relics of the Buddhistic age have, however, been discovered, five to seven cubits below the surface of the earth, at the village of Dāntan. It is therefore expected that some definite and historical evidences of the Buddhistic period may come to light, if excavation be regularly carried on here.

Infant
Buddha.

Buddhistic remains have also been found in certain parts of Mayūrabhañja proper, Nilgiri and district Balasor, which we lately had an opportunity of visiting. Images of Çākya-Simha, "the infant lion of the Çākyas" on the lap of Mahā-prajāvatī Gautamī have been discovered at Māntri, Ayodhyā and Doma-gaṇḍarā. It is worthy of note that these representations of Buddha's boyhood, are known to the local people as representing episodes from the legend of Sāvitri and Satyavāna. The following occurs in the Lalita-Vistara :—

"There was a garden called Vimalavyūha. The Bodhisattva strayed into that garden and was there taken on the lap by Mahāprajāvatī Gautamī."*

Leafy trees are found overhanging the images at Māntri and Ayodhyā indicating the Vimalavyūha garden. Below the image at Māntri are the figures of a serpent and a lion (Fig. 24); while below those at Ayodhyā and Doma-gaṇḍarā are the figures of a serpent and two

* "विमलव्यूहनामोद्यानं तत्र बोधिसत्त्वो विनिर्गतोऽभूत् ।

तत्र महाप्रजावत्या गौतम्या बोधिसत्त्वोऽङ्गे गृहीतोऽभूत् ।"





25.

Gautamî with Cākya-Simha *from Ayodhyā.*



27. Buddha practicing yoga from Kasbá.

females with folded hands. (Figs. 25 and 26). The serpent seems to represent the king of Nāgas, while the lion is an emblem of Çākya-Simha, "the lion of the Çākyas." One of the female figures is that of the deity presiding over the Vimalavyūha garden and the other is her attendant.



No. 26.

There are vast ruins of the magnificent structures of the Tāntrika Buddhistic period at Ayodhyā in the Nilgiri State. The image of a Dhyānī Buddha is worth mention as clearly indicating the imitation of style of early Buddhist influence. (Fig. 28).

The image of Buddha in the attitude of Yoga, which was discovered at Kasbā in the district of Balasor and may now be seen in front of the Balasor Municipal Office, furnishes a specimen of mediæval Buddhistic sculpture. We find in Lalita-Vistara (Chapter XVIII) that after the death of Sujātā's attendant Rādhā, Buddha took up her cloth from the burning-ground, wrapped it round his feet and became absorbed in meditation and that at that moment the Chāturmahārajika-Devas proclaimed his glory.*

Buddha
practising
Yoga.

* "सुजाताया यामिकदुहितृर्दासी राधा नाम्नी कालगताऽभूत् । सा शालकेः परिवेष्ट्य स्नानशानमपकृष्य त्यक्ताऽभूत् । तदहमेवाद्राचं पाण्डुकूलम् । ततोऽयं तत् पाण्डुकूलं वामेन पादेनाक्रम्य दक्षिणहस्तं प्रसार्यावनतोऽभूत्तदग्रहीतुम् । सहाराजकुलप्रसुतस्य चक्रवर्तिराज्यपरित्यागिनः पाण्डुकूलं चित्तं नतमिति चत्वरिचदेवा भीमानां देवानां शब्दं श्रुत्वा चातुर्मेहाराजिकानां देवानां घोषमुदीरन्ति स्म ।"

Lalita Vistara (As. Soc. Edn.) p. 332,

The image of Buddha referred to above, fulfils all these conditions. There are four minor images representing the gods and Buddha sits in the attitude of Yoga with a piece of cloth wrapped round his feet. (Fig. 27).

THE ÇĀKTA INFLUENCE.

During our short visit to Mayūrabhañja and adjacent places, we observed a large number of objects of special interest to the Çāktas of the Mahāyāna Buddhists as well as of other Hindu Tāntrika schools. These would furnish materials for the history not only of the province in which they were discovered, but also of the vast community of the Çāktas all over India.

It is difficult to ascertain the exact period at which Çāktaism first made its appearance in India. It is almost certain, however, that the Tantras, the scriptures of the Çāktas, claim a very remote antiquity. That a reference to their origin may be traced even in the Atharva Veda, is admitted by some scholars. A manuscript of a Buddhistic Tāntrika work entitled "Uṣṇiṣa-vijaya-dhāraṇī," written on palm-leaves, has been discovered in the Horiuzi Monastery of Japan. It was taken to that country in the sixth century A.D. The original, of which it is a copy, must, therefore, have belonged to an earlier period. There is plenty of evidence to show that Çakti

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24. Dhyâni Buddha *from Ayodhyâ.*

worship was very prevalent throughout India in the fifth century A.D. The ancient Kadamba dynasty of the Deccan were worshippers of the "Sapta Mātrikās" (seven mothers).¹ These were also the tutelary deities of the ancient Chālukya kings.² From the rock inscription of Viçvavarman, king of Malwa, of the year 480 Samvat (*i.e.*, 423-24 A. D.), we learn that the minister of this king had a large temple built for the Mātrikās.³ This inscription shows the influence of the Tantras and Çakti worship in Central India as well. It even appears from the stone-pillar inscription of the Gupta Emperors Kumāra Gupta and Skanda Gupta that the images of Mātrikās were erected and set up for worship by their order.⁴ It will therefore be admitted, that Mātrikā or Çakti-worship is much older than the time of the Gupta Emperors. In the verses in praise of Çiva and Çakti found in the prelude of the drama Mṛchchhakaṭika, composed before the first century of the Christian era, we observe a tendency to attribute to the deities, the passion of love which we find so greatly developed in all Tāntrika forms of worship in subsequent times. We have already mentioned this while dealing with the subject of Çaivaism. Ancient images of Pārvatī embraced by Çiva are found all over India, and some images of this description, belonging to the Scythian period, have been unearthed at Kōisārigaḍa, Mayūrabhañja. So it is not improbable that Çakti-worship existed in India at the time of the Scythian rule.

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VI. p. 27.

² *Indian Antiquary*, Vols. VII. p. 162 ; XIII, p. 137.

³ Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 76.

⁴ Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 48.

Some persons are of opinion that the origin of Çaktaism is to be sought in the developed form of the Mahāyāna cult preached by the Buddhist teacher Nāgārjuna. It was through his efforts that the worship of the Brāhmaṇic Çaktis was introduced into the Mahāyāna community. We are, however, of opinion that Çakti-worship was prevalent amongst the Sauras and Çaivas before Nāgārjuna introduced it amongst the Buddhists.

Kamalā belongs to the Hindu pantheon of ten Mahāvidyās; she is represented as having two elephants on either side of her in the act of showering water overhead with their proboscis. A description of this Kamalā occurs in the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki.¹

In the Bhiṣma-parvan of the Mahābhārata (Chap. 23) there is a prayer addressed to the goddess Durgā. We find in this prayer certain mystic syllables or the *bīja-mantra* of the Çaktas. This fact would suggest that these mantras existed from very ancient times. The Lalita-Vistara (Chap. 137) speaks of the images of the following gods:—

“शिवस्तन्दनारायणकुबेरचन्द्र-सूर्यवैश्रवण-शक्रब्रह्मलोकपाल-
प्रभृतयः प्रतिमा ।”

That is to say, the images of Çiva, Skanda, Nārāyaṇa, Kuvera, Chandra, Sūrya, Vaiçravaṇa, Indra, Brahmā, Lokapālas, &c., were shown to Buddha, after his birth. The quotation does not mention the name of any goddess. Some people infer from this that the worship of Çakti or the Seven Mātrikās did not exist at the time of

¹ “निगुञ्जमान.य गजः सुहस्तः सकेशराशीत्पलपवहस्तः ।

वभूव देवी च कृता सुहस्ता लक्ष्मीस्तथा पद्मिनि पद्महस्ता ॥” (४।७।१४)

Buddha. In the twenty-fourth chapter of the Lalita-Vistara, however, we find mention of the existence of eight Devakumārīkā (Deva-maidens) in each of the four quarters of the world. An impression seems to prevail that the worship of four sets of Nāyikās or Çaktis (eight in each direction) was prevalent at the time of the Lalita-Vistara.

Many are of opinion that the Tāntrika or Çakta cult is not of Indian origin. The reason given for this is that the Tantras do not accept the authority of the Vedas, that they support non-vedic customs and in certain places they even abuse the Vedas. The following verses in the Kulālikāmuṣāya or Kubjikāmata Tantra, which was composed about fifteen centuries ago, support this view :—

“गच्छ त्वं भारते वर्षेऽधिकाराय सर्व्वतः ।
 पीठापपीठक्षेत्रेषु कुरु सृष्टिरनेकधा ॥
 गच्छ त्वं भारते वर्षे कुरु सृष्टिस्त्वमीदृशः ।
 पञ्चवेदाः पञ्चैव योगिनः पीठपञ्चकं ॥
 एतानि भारते वर्षे यावत् पीठा न स्थाप्यन्ते ।
 तावत् न मे त्वया सार्द्धं सङ्गमञ्च प्रजायते ॥”

“Go thou to Bhārata-varṣa in order to spread your influence in every place there; create many (things) in Pīṭhas, Upa-pīṭhas and Kṣetras; go to Bhārata-varṣa and make the following creations :—five Vedas, five Yogins and five Pīṭhas. You shall not have my company until you establish these Pīṭhas.”¹

From these passages we are led to think that the Çakta cult had a foreign origin. In fact, we

¹ M. M. Haraprasād Cāstri's Nepal Catalogue, p. LXXIX.

find in the Chīnāchāra and other Tantras that Vasiṣṭha went to China at the instance of Buddha and there found the goddess Tārā, the chief object of worship of both the Hindu and Buddhist Tāntrikas. The following are the verses referred to in the Mahāchīnāchārasāra Tantra :—

“Then the great sage Vasiṣṭha bowed down before that goddess and went to Buddha in order to learn religious rites from him. Then going to the country called “Mahāchīna” (great China) the sage, who was full of knowledge, saw by the side of the Himālayas the Iṣvara (Buddha), who is adored by Lokeṣvaras, surrounded by a thousand women, with eyes grown languid through intoxication by drinking wine. Seeing Buddha thus from a distance, Vasiṣṭha became astonished, and praying to the great goddess the saviour of the world, thought within himself : “What is Viṣṇu in his Buddha form doing here ? This rite seems to me to be against (the dictates of) (Śiva)” When he was thinking thus, an unseen voice said, “O sage, consider this rite to be a great help in the worship of goddess Tāriṇī. She is not pleased with the view of those who perform rites contrary to this. If you want to please her in a short time, worship her in accordance with this rite of Chīna.” When he heard the voice, his hair stood at their ends, and he fell on the ground with joy. Then rising and bowing down, the sage went to Buddha with folded hands and saw him overpowered with the joy of intoxication. Buddha became pleased (with him) and asked, “Why have you come here ?” Then the great sage bowed to him with the humility of devotion and told him all that goddess Tāriṇī had told him regarding her worship. Hearing that, Bhagavān Buddha, who was Hari filled with

divine knowledge and who was well versed in the rites of Chīna, said thus to Vasiṣṭha, "O sage, this rite of Tārīṇī is not divulged to all. But I shall divulge it to you on account of your devotion. I shall tell you about the rites of Tārīṇī which grants fortunes, and on performing which a man is never drowned in this ocean of the world, which gives powers to all, which is full of divine knowledge and which gives salvation immediately. (In this rite) purification by ablution, &c., is mental, repetition (of names) is mental, divine worship is mental and *tarpana*, &c., are also mental. In it there is no necessity of purity, &c., and in it (drinking of) wine does not bring any pollution. One ought to worship the goddess always, without bathing and after taking his food. One should have no ill-feeling towards women. Women must be especially worshipped. They must never be beaten, abused, ill-treated or displeased. Otherwise, salvation will be denied. Women are goddesses, women are life, women are ornaments. * * * Sitting on a dead body or entering a bower of creepers gives great results. If one goes to a burning-place, with dishevelled hair and naked and becomes surrounded with the trees and creepers of "great China," (i.e., *Jarā* flower) one gets salvation. * * * * The devotee should worship Īvā with fragrant, white *lauhitya*, *kunkuma*, *vilva*, *maruvaka* etc., but not with *tulasi*. The *tatastha yogin* should worship Tārā, the saviour of the world at an *ekalinga*, or a burning place or a solitary cross-road."¹

¹ "ततः प्रपश्य तां देवीं वसिष्ठीऽसौ महामुनिः ।

जगामाचारविज्ञानवाञ्छया बुद्धरूपिणम् ॥

ततो गत्वा महावीने देशे ज्ञानमयी मुनिः ।

ददर्श हिमवत्पाथे लोकेऽथरमुमेवितम् ॥

It is evident from the above quotations that the worship of Tārā or Çakti was introduced into India from a country north of the Himalayas.

In the ancient work called Kulālikāmnāya Tantra referred to above, the Magas are recognised as Brāhmaṇas. These Magas, as we have already mentioned, introduced the worship of images of the Sun-god in India. It is quite probable that these Magas afterwards introduced the worship of images of Çiva and Çakti. They were the earliest Sun-worshippers; and it is for this reason that we find that in all dis-

कामिनीनां सहस्रेण परिवारितमौश्वरम् ।
 मदिरापानसंज्ञातं मदमय्यरलीचनम् ।
 दूरादेव विलाक्यैनं वसिष्ठो बुद्धरूपिणम् ॥
 विस्मयेन सदाविष्टः स्मरन् संसारतारिणीम् ॥
 किमिदं कियते कर्म विष्णुणा बुद्धरूपिणा ।
 देव देव विरुद्धोऽयमाचारः सम्प्रती मया ॥
 इति चिन्तयतस्तस्य वसिष्ठस्य महामुनेः ।
 आकाशवाणी प्राज्ञाय एव चिन्तय सुव्रत ॥
 आचारपरमाथोऽयं तारिणीसाधने मुने ।
 एतद्विरुद्धाचारस्य मते नामौ प्रसीदति ॥
 यदि तस्याः प्रसादस्त्वमचिरैणाभिवाञ्छसि ।
 एतेन चीनाचारिण तदा तां भज सुव्रत ॥
 आकाशवाणीमाकर्ण्य रोमाञ्चितकलेवरः ॥
 वसिष्ठो दण्डवद्भूमौ पपातातीवहर्षितः ॥
 तथोक्त्याय प्रणम्यासौ कृताञ्जलिपुटो मुनिः ।
 जगाम विष्णोः समीपं बुद्धरूपस्य पार्श्वति ॥
 अथासौ तं समासीक्य मदिरामोदबिह्वलः ।
 प्राह बुद्धः प्रसन्नात्मा किमर्थं त्वमिहागतः ॥
 अथ बुद्धं प्रणम्याह भक्तिनमो महामुनिः ।
 प्रयुक्तं तारिणीं देव्या निजाराधनहेतवे ॥
 तच्छ्रुत्वा भगवान् बुद्धस्तत्त्वज्ञानमथो हरिः ।
 वसिष्ठं प्राह सुज्ञानञ्चीनाचाराधिकारवान् ॥

courses on the worship of Çakti both in Hindu and Buddhist Tantras the necessity of meditating on the image of Sun is mentioned first. It shows the early influence of the Sun-worshippers. The ancient historians of Greece mention the name "Sakitai" as a clan of the Scythians. Hence some are of opinion that those of the Çaktas who first promulgated this form of worship were a branch of the Scythians. Moreover when we look into their early manners and customs,

अप्रकाशोऽयमाचारस्तारिण्याः सर्वदा मुनेः ।
तव भक्तिवशादस्मि प्रकाश्यामीह तत्परः ॥

बुद्ध उवाच ।

अथाचारविधिं वक्ष्ये तारादेव्याः समृद्धिदम् ।

तस्यानुष्ठानमात्रेण भवाञ्छौ न निमज्जति ॥

समस्तलोकशमनानन्दादेव विभूतिदम् ।

तत्त्वज्ञानमयं साक्षाद्विमुक्तिफलदायकम् ॥

स्नानादिमानसं श्रौचं मानसं जपः स्मृतः ।

पूजनं मानसं दिव्यं मानसं तर्पणादिकम् ॥

नाव शुद्धाद्यपेक्षास्ति न च मद्यादिदूषणम् ।

सर्व्वथा पुण्येद्वेवैमस्मात् कृतभोजनः ॥

स्तीव्रधी नेव कर्त्तव्यी विशिषात् पूजनं स्त्रियः ।

तासां प्रहारनिन्दाश्च कौटिल्यमप्रियं तथा ॥

सर्व्वथा न च कर्त्तव्यमन्यथा सिद्धिरीधकृत् ।

स्त्रियो देवाः स्त्रियः प्राणाः स्त्रिय एव विभूषणम् ॥

स्त्रीसङ्गिना सदा भाव्यमन्यथा स्वस्तिया सह ।

* * * *

शवासनाधिकफलं लतागेहप्रवेशनम् ॥

श्मशानालयमागत्य मुक्तकेशी दिगम्बरः ।

महाचीनद्रुमलतावेष्टितो मुक्तिमाप्नुयात् ॥

* * * *

सुगन्धिश्चेतलौहिल्यकुङ्कुमैरर्चयेच्छिवाम् ।

बिल्लैर्मंरुवकाद्यैश्च तुलसीवर्जितैः शुभैः ॥

एकलिङ्गे श्मशाने वा निज्जने वा चतुष्पथे ।

तटस्थः साधयेत् योगी तारां भुवनतारिणीं ॥' (२५ पटल)

we find that the Scythians used to eat flesh and drink wine and were addicted to practices mentioned in the Tantras as the five *makāras*. They also offered animal sacrifice before their gods. Their priests followed comparatively purer customs, but the bulk of them were *vīrāchāris*. With the spread of their influence, the non-Vedic *Çakta* rites and customs were gradually accepted by the people all over India. The Mahāyāna school of Buddhism was founded during the reign of the Scythian monarch Kaṇiṣka and, through his efforts, it spread over the whole of Asia. The followers of this school introduced the worship of *Çakti* everywhere. Several images of the *Çakti* cult were imported into India from countries lying north of the Himalayas. We find mention of this fact in some of the Tantras. In Rudra-yāmala and other Hindu Tantras the worship of Tārā is said to have been brought by Vasiṣṭha from China. Similarly in the Buddhistic Tantra of Nepal called Sādhana-mālā, it is mentioned that the worship of Ekajaṭā was brought to India by Nāgārjuna from Bhoṭa or Tibbet; the passage runs thus :—

“आर्यनागाज्जुनपादैर्भाटैर्षुद्रता इति ।”

In the Svatantra-Tantra we have the following verse :—

“नेरोः पश्चिमकुले तु चोलनाख्यो हृदो महान् ।

तत्र जज्ञे स्वयं तारा देवी नीलसरस्वती ॥”

“There is a great lake called Cholana on the western side of Meru. The blue Saraswatī Tārā first appeared there.”

The five Vedas, mentioned in the Kulālikā-m-nāya Tantra referred to above, are the northern, southern, eastern, western and upper (ūrdha) Āmnāyas (schools), the five yogīs are the five

Maheçvaras or the five Dhyānī Buddhas and the five pīṭhas are situated at Oriyan (Orissa), Jāla (Jālandhara), Purna (Puna in Mahāraṣṭra), Matanḡa (Çriçaila) and Kāmākhyā. These five pīṭhas were the original pīṭhas or centres of the Çāktas, which subsequently increased to fifty-one. The Vedic Brāhmaṇas did not at first accept the Çākta cult, but when it spread all over India some of them became initiated in its rites. They first accepted the worship of the "Seven Mātrikās. These Brāhmaṇas have been mentioned by Varāhamihira in his Vṛihat-Saṃhitā as "Mātrikā-maṇḍala-vit." The name is probably derived from the fact that *chakras*, *mandalas* or *yantras* are indispensable elements in Çakti-worship. Through the efforts of these Brāhmaṇas, some Vedic mantras came to be introduced into the Çākta cult.

These are the Brāhmaṇas whom we have described as the Hindu Çāktas. From Kulāli-kāmnāya-Tantra, referred to above, we learn that the three schools sprang up amongst the Çāktas, viz., the Devayāna, Pitṛyāna and Mahāyāna.

“दक्षिणे देवयानन्तु पितृयानन्तु चोत्तरे ।

मध्यमे तु महायानं शिवसंज्ञा प्रणीयते ॥”

“The Devayāna (is prevalent) in the south, the Pitṛyāna in the north and the Mahāyāna in the middle. These are the names given by Çiva.”

The distinctive features of these three schools have not yet been fully known. This much, however, can be gathered about the Mahāyāna school from its principal authority, the Tathāgata-guhyaka, that the rites observed by its followers are the same as those known in Rudra-yāmala and other Tantras as Vāmāchāra or Kaulāchāra. The Mahāyāna Tāntrika school

subsequently gave rise to two other schools named Kālachakrayāna or Kālottarayāna and Vajrayāna. The Buddhist Čāktas of Tibet belong to the former, while those of Nepāl belong to the latter school.

In the Čaktisaṅgama-Tantra, we get some idea of the origin of the Čākta cult. The following are the particular passages referred to :—

“For the purpose of continuing this creation varieties (of religions) have been promulgated. O goddess, Čaktism, Čaivaism, Gaṇapati-worship, Vaiṣṇavism, Sun-worship and Buddhism—all these cults have gradually sprung up into existence. O great goddess, many other cults have been promulgated after these. * * * *

“Though the sects often blame one another yet there is harmony in all, and explanations of these varieties have been given in order to bring about this unity. But some praise and some abuse each other. For this reason Vidyās do not become successful and *mantras* remain like evil spirits. In spite of these recriminations, there is unity. For the purpose of bringing about this unity every one should worship Kālikā Tāriṇī. Goddess Čivā (Kālī) assumes various forms beautiful, ugly and fearful. I have mentioned to thee many scriptures in order to elucidate these forms. I have promulgated the Čākta cult in order to demonstrate the unity of the fourteen branches of knowledge, viz., Purāṇas, Nyāya, Mīmāṃsā, Sāṃkhya, Pātañjala, Vedānta, Dharma-śāstras, Aṅga, Chhandas, Astronomy and the four Vedas. Hear, O Goddess, attentively ; I shall tell you the truth. Goddess Bhavatāriṇī is the deity presiding over the four Vedas and goddess Kālikā is the deity presiding over the Atharva-

Veda. In spite of the different sects often finding fault with one another, a spirit of harmony underlies their seemingly contrary doctrines. In order to bring about an union of the sects, Ṣāstric explanations are given propounding the doctrine of this harmony. The sects though sometimes praise one another, are often led by a spirit of quarrel. Hence the Vidyā they profess becomes futile, and the Mantras are, as it were guided by evil spirits. In order to bring about this much desired harmony, it is necessary that these people of different sects should worship Kālikā, the saviour of the world. Rites according to the Atharva-Veda cannot be performed without Kālī or without Tārā. She is called Kālikā in Kerala, Tripurā in Kaṣmīr and Tārā in Gauḍa. She is the Kālottarā or the chief divinity of Kālottara-yāna.”¹

1 “संसारीत्पत्तिकार्यार्थे प्रपञ्चीयं विनिर्दिष्टं ।

शक्तं शैवं गाणपत्यं वैष्णवं सौरवैद्यकं ॥

एवं क्रमेण देवेशि मतमेतद्विनिश्चितम् ।

मतानि बहुसंख्यानि तदारभ्य महेश्वरि ॥

* * * *

सर्वैवान्धान्निन्दा च तदैक्यं प्रजायते ।

तदैक्यस्य सुसिद्धार्थे प्रपञ्चार्थं प्रकीर्तितम् ॥

भिन्नाः भिन्नं प्रशंसन्ति निन्दन्ति च परस्परम् ।

न विद्या सिद्धिमाप्नोति मन्त्रमस्ति पिशाचवत् ॥

अन्धोऽपि यदि निन्दा च तदैक्यं प्रजायते ।

तदैक्यस्य सुसिद्धार्थे कालिकां तारिणीं यजेत् ॥

सुन्दरकूरचालुये रूपा संविसृती शिवा ।

रूपमेतत् प्रपञ्चार्थं कौर्त्तितन्तु मया तव ॥

पुराणं न्यायमीमांसासाङ्ख्यपातञ्जले तथा ।

वेदान्ती व्याहृतिर्देवि धर्मशास्त्राङ्गमिश्रिता ॥

कन्दोज्योतिर्वेदसाङ्गविद्य । एताद्यतुद्देशः ।

प्रपञ्चार्थं मया प्रोक्तं एकत्वं परिणामजे ॥

क

It appears from the above passages of Çakti-saṅgama-Tantra, that the Çakta or Tān-trika cult was promulgated in order to effect harmony among the various jarring sects. The result was that all the sects began to worship the female energies of their own respective deities. Some accepted a few Çaktis, others accepted many. This is perhaps the reason of the great fellow-feeling between the Hindu and the Buddhist Çāktas as well as of the rites of the one being found in the Tantras of the other and *vice versa*.

Dr. Kern thus observes: "The development of Tantrism is a feature that Buddhism and Hinduism in their later phases have in common. The object of Hindu Tantrism is the acquisition of wealth, mundane enjoyments, rewards for moral actions, deliverance, by worshipping Durgā, the Çakti of Çiva, Prajñā in the terminology of the Mahāyāna, through means of the spells, muttered prayers, Samādhi, offerings &c. Similarly the Buddhist Tantras purpose to teach the adepts how by a supernatural way to acquire desired objects, either of a material nature, as the elixir of longevity, invulnerability, invisibility, alchemy; or of a more spiritual character, as the power of evoking a Buddha or a Bodhisattva to solve a doubt, or the power of achieving in this life the union with some

प्रकृतं कथ्यते देवि शृणु सार्वज्ञता भव ।

चतुर्बन्धमयी प्रोक्ता श्रीमहाभवतारिणी ।

अथर्ववेदाधिष्ठात्री श्रीमहाकालिका परा ॥

विना कालीं विना तारां नाथर्व्वणी विधिः क्वचित् ।

केरली कालिका प्रोक्ता काश्मीरे त्रिपुरा मता ॥

गौडं तारति संप्रोक्ता सैव कालोत्तरा भवेत् । "

(शक्तिसङ्गमतन्त्रे उत्तरभागे १म खण्डे ८म पटलः)

F 8th Plate

divinity. There is an unmistakable affinity between Tantrism on one side, and the system of Yoga Kammaṭṭhāna on the other."¹

Later Tantras enumerate seven sub-sects among the Çāktas. Of these the Vedāchāra is found among the Marāṭhā Vaidikas, the Vaiṣṇavāchāra among the Vaiṣṇavas of the Rāmānuja school and those of Gauḍa, Dakṣiṇāchāra among the Çaivas of Çaykara school in the Deccan, Çaivāchāra and Vīrāchāra among the Vīra Çaivas or Liṅgāyats of the Deccan and the Vīrāchāra, the Vāmāchāra, the Siddhāntāchāra and the Kaulāchāra amongst the Çāktas of Kerala, Gauḍa, Nepāl and Kāmarūpa. As regards their relation to each other, it is found that the Vīrāchāra or Bauddhāchāra are condemned in the Tantras of the Vedāchāra, the Vaiṣṇavāchāra and the Dakṣiṇāchāra schools, but they are praised in those of the other schools. At a later period the Āgama or the Tāntrika cult is said to have been first promulgated by Vāsudeva from whom, it passed on to Çiva and then to Pārvatī who became its active preachers.²

We have given above a brief history of the origin of Çāktaism in India. It will be found that Oriyan or Orissa was at one time one of the most important centres of Çāktaism. We now proceed to give an account of the relics of Çāktaism that are still found in those parts of Mayūrabhanja which we had an opportunity of visiting.

¹ Kern's *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 133.

² “आगतं शिववक्त्रात् गतन्तु गिरिजामुखम् ।
मत्तच्च वासुदेवस्य तस्मादागम उच्यते ॥”

Quoted by Rāghava Bhatta in his *Padārthadārṣa*. Chap. 12.

THE HINDU ÇĀKTA INFLUENCE.

It is difficult to say when the influence of Hindu Tāntrikism first began to spread over Mayūrabhañja and the adjacent parts.

From a survey of the various places of Mayūrabhañja we come to this hypothesis that the Hindu and Buddhistic Tāntrikas lived there in perfect harmony for many centuries. The vast relics of sculptures found in Khiching, Ādipur and Benu-sāgar are traditionally believed to be those of the great temples and stone images of the Buddhists also of the Hindu temples made by the Emperor Çaçānka Narendra Gupta of Karna-Suvarṇa in the 7th century. He persecuted the Buddhist Tāntrikas but after his death the latter gradually regained their power and flourished till the 12th century A. D., the relics found in Ayodhyā attesting the ascendancy of these Buddhist Tāntrikas.

It appears from the genealogical books of the Vārendra Brāhmaṇas of Bengal that Hindu Tantrikism with the worship of Tāntrika gods and goddesses spread in Orissa through the efforts of Brāhmaṇas sent by Ballāla-sena, king of Gauda.¹ There is however, sufficient evidence to show that Mayūrabhañja and for matter of that many other places of Orissa afforded a field of action to the

¹ The following passage occurs in the Vārendra-kula-pañjika :—

“पञ्चाशन्मगधे षट्भिर्भोटे षष्टिः रभाङ्गके।

चत्वारिंशदुत्कले च सौङ्गङ्गेऽपि तथाङ्गकाः॥”

i. e., [Ballala-Sena, King of Gauda, sent for the purpose of furthering his aim], fifty Brahmanas to Magadha, sixty to Bhotan, sixty to Rabbānga or Chittagong and Arakan, forty to Orissa and forty to Mantanga or Nepal.

Hindu Tāntrikas. We learn from the following stanza of Rasika-maṅgala that even three centuries ago, up to the reign of Rājā Vaidyanātha Bhaṅja (circa 1575 A.D.) Tantrikism was prevalent throughout Mayūrabhaṅja :—

“शैव शक्त जीवहतया कृडिलेन सव ।

भञ्जभूमे सर्वलोक हडला वैष्णव ॥”

(१६ लहरी)

“Çaivas and Çāktas all gave up killing of animals and the whole population of the kingdom of the Bhaṅjas became Vaiṣṇavas.”

We have already stated briefly how the Çākta cult originated in India. Now we proceed to describe at the outset, those of the figures of the gods and goddesses which were enshrined by the Hindu Çāktas and which were discovered during the year in the course of our surveys.

There is a very old door-way facing the pedestal of the Liṅga (Lingavedi) in the temple of Maṇi-nāgeçvara near Bhīmapur. It once formed a part of the original temple which existed there before the present one was constructed. The beauty of the architecture is remarkable. In front of this door-way and above it is an image of the goddess Kamalā. Similar images are found inscribed on the ancient coins of the Gupta kings which shews that she was their tutelary deity. The worship of this goddess is certainly very ancient. In the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki we find description of her, exactly as she is represented in these places (Sundara-kāṇḍa, Chap. 7). The following direction for the making of this image is found in the Viçvakarma-Çilpa :—

“Lakṣmī is seated on a lotus-seat, has two arms, and has a golden colour. Her ears are encircled by prominent ear-rings which are bright with gold and jewels, and she has a lotus in (her) right hand and offers prosperity and power by (her) left hand. There are two women holding *chāmara* and snake on her two sides. Two elephants are to be seen with pitchers in their trunks and bathing (her).¹

The figure of Kamalā mentioned above answers this description. (Fig. 29).

It is a noteworthy fact that images of this kind are found on the doorways of all the ancient temples at Khiching and adjacent places in Mayūrabhañja.* It appears from this that this goddess was the chief object of worship of some royal dynasties as also of the people at large.†

Bhima.

There is a very ancient image of the goddess Bhīmā (Fig. 30A) on the sea-side at Bhīmapur in the district of Balasor. She is known to the

¹ “लक्ष्मी पद्मासनासीना द्विभुजा काचनप्रभा ।
हेमरवीज्वलीच्चात कुण्डलं कर्णमण्डलम् ॥
सुयौवनं सुरामागं कुञ्चितं पृथुविभ्रमात् ।
सुमण्डलामलमुखी कर्णपूरासदचणा ॥
पद्मस्था दक्षिणा हस्ते वामे शैबलमिष्यते ।
चामरव्यालहस्ते च तत्पार्श्वं तु स्त्रिया उभौ ।
खापयन्ती कुम्भहस्तौ हस्तिनौ च प्रदर्शयेत् ॥” (Chap. 8.)

* Vide Mayurbhanja Archl. Survey, Vol. II.

† Probably this goddess has been described as कलिङ्गनगरेश्वरी and मणिनागगता in the Rudrayamala Tantra (Chap. 54). Thus :—

“सन्दमणिस्रुतिप्राणा कलिङ्गनगरेश्वरी ।
अतिभीजतरङ्गिणी गुप्तचक्रात्मिकात्मदा ।
मणिनागगता नग्ना विनासा नामसु प्रिया ॥”



20. Kaulâ from Manuâggarâ.



30A. Bhîmâ from Blâmpur.

people as Kālikā. This image is placed in a picturesque tract of country, with forests bordering the sea-coast. Hindu Çāktas have been worshipping this goddess on the sea-coast from very ancient times. Yuang Chuang, the celebrated Chinese pilgrim, who saw an image of the goddess Bhīmā near the town of Po-lu-sha on the north-western frontiers, in the seventh century of the Christian era, gives the following description :—

“To the north-east of the city of Po-lu-sha, 50 *li* or so, we come to a high mountain, on which is a figure of the wife of Īṣvara-Deva carved out of green (bluish) stone. This is Bhīmā Devī (Si-wung-mu of the Chinese). All the people of the better class, and the lower orders too declare that this figure was self-wrought. It has the reputation of working numerous miracles, and is therefore venerated by all, so that from every part of India men come to pay their vows and seek prosperity thereby. Both poor and rich assemble here from every part, near and distant. Those who wish to see the form of the divine spirit, being filled with faith and free from doubt after fasting seven days, are privileged to behold it, and obtain for the most part their prayers. Below the mountain is the temple of Maheçvara Deva ; the heretics who cover themselves with ashes come here to offer sacrifice.”*

When in the year 636 A.D. the Chinese pilgrim was passing by A-yo-mu-ka between Ayodhyā and Prayāga, his boat was attacked by Thugs. His biographer writes thus :—“When these Thugs saw that the Chinese pilgrim was an

* Si-yu-ki, translated by Beal. Vol. I, pp. 113-114.

uncommonly fine-looking man, they decided to sacrifice him to their Durgā.”*

The image of goddess Bhīmā at Bhīmapur is built of blue *mugni* stone. This tallies exactly with the description given by the Chinese pilgrim about thirteen centuries ago. The glory and powers of this goddess are spoken of by the people of the locality. Men come in numbers even now, from very remote places, to offer worship in this lonely spot on the sea-coast, with a view to obtain their cherished desires. Goats, sheep and buffaloes are sacrificed before the goddess. In ancient times human sacrifices were also offered to her.

This goddess presents an emaciated form like a skeleton, and has eight arms. She is seated on a lotus springing from the body of the god Hari, who wears on his head a crown. The head of the goddess is broken. There is another broken image of the goddess Bhīmā like the one mentioned above, lying in the outer courtyard of the temple of Maṇi-nāgeçvara near Bhīmapur. She is not worshipped now. The following instructions for meditating on Bhīmā may be found in the Kaṅkālamālinī Tantra :—

“ I salute the great goddess Bhīmā, who has the colour of a blue lotus, who has well-developed high breasts, is seated on a seat over the sleeping body of Çrī Hari, has three eyes, is benign, has a *mudrā* and a sword in her hands, gives boon (*vara*) and assurance of safety (*abhaya*) [by her two other hands], wears a beautifully-coloured bright garment and who has [around

* Vide Watter's on Yuan Chuang. Vol. I, p. 360.



her neck] a dangling precious necklace of Chandrakānta stone.”¹

Thus also in another place :—

“One should think of goddess Bhīmā as having the colour of a black cloud, having a sword, a conch-shell, a spear and a Khadga (a kind of sword) in her hands, having a rising moon on her head and three eyes, and looking as one who has defeated all enemies and who has the power of removing all troubles.”²

The images of the goddess at Bhīmapur answer the description given in the two Tantras taken together. The Chinese pilgrim saw images of Bhīmā not only in India, but also in Khotan in Central Asia. He also found there a city called after her.* He speaks of her image as being made of “dark blue stone” and we have seen that in the Tantras too she is described as “having the colour of a blue lotus.”†

The grim figure of the goddess Chāmūṇḍā in Deogāo (Devagrāma) used to inspire awe and fear among the people who worshipped it. This image Chamunda.

- ¹ “नीलन्दीवरवर्णिनी युग्मापीनतुङ्गलनीम् ।
सुप्तश्रीहरिपीठराजितवतीं भोमां विनेवां शिवाम् ।
मृद्राखड्गकरां वराभययुतां चित्राम्बरीह्रीपनीं
वन्दे चञ्चलचन्द्रकालमणिभिर्मातां दधानां पराम् ॥” (३४ पटल)
- ² “कालाम्बुदाभामसिंशङ्खशूलखड्गाद्यहस्तां तरुणन्दुचूडाम् ।
भोमां विनेवां जितशत्रुवर्गां देवीं स्मरेदशान्तिभङ्गदहाम् ।”
(सारदातिलक २२ अः)

* Vide Watter's on Yuan Chuang, Vol. II, p. 302.

† “This Bhīmā is Durgā and she is the Sri Mahādevī mentioned in Tibetan books as worshipped in this country.” (Watters, II, p. 303.)

and the sculptural workmanship of the remains of the temple, would appear to be seven or eight centuries old. (Fig. 30). The following direction for the meditation of the goddess may be found in the Sārādātīlaka Tantra :—

‘ शूलं कृपाणं वृश्चिरः कपालं दधती करैः ।

मुण्डद्रुङ्मण्डिता र्थया चामुण्डा रक्तविग्रहा ॥” (६ अः)

“Chamuṇḍā is to be meditated upon as holding a spear, a sword, a human head and a skull in her hands, wearing a garland of heads and having a body of blood-red colour.”

The above description speaks of only four hands. But the image of Deogāo mentioned above has eight. In the Viṣvakarma-Çilpa however, we find instructions for making images of Chāmuṇḍā with eight, ten, twelve or sixteen hands.¹ The figure of Chāmuṇḍā found at Devagrāma is probably one of the forms of Bhīmā, the emaciated body disclosing a hideous skeleton with the bones and ribs all laid bare. The goddess is seated on a lotus issuing from the navel of Puruṣa. Over the head and back of the goddess rises the figure of Airāvata; on either side of her crown there is a serpent with uplifted hood. The arms of the goddess are broken. One of her hands holds a ḍamaru, another the akṣamālā (or a bead of strings), the third hand is stretched out in the act of giving protection (*abhaya*) and the last holds the head of a demon.

Varahi

Two different images of goddess Vārāhī, one of which is very large, have been found in

¹ “अथष्टौ दशद्विंशतिं विष्टुषोडशबाहुकैः ।

चामुण्डौ कारयेद्भक्ता दारकासुरमर्दिनीम् ॥”

(Viṣvakarma-Çilpa, Chap. 7).

MAYURABHANJA ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY.



31. Vârahî from Domagandarâ.

the village Ḍoma-gaṇḍarā. (Fig. 31). This goddess belongs to the group of seven Mātrikās. Though some portion of the aforesaid images are broken, they have not, altogether, lost their beauty. The images appear to be of great attraction and are evidently very ancient. The following description of the form of Vārāhī is found in Viṣṇvakarma-Āilpa :—

“ Vārāhī has got the face of a sow. She is dark like the clouds that portend destruction of the world. She has in her hands a conch-shell and a club. Her other two hands are stretched out in a posture of giving boons and protection. She has got tusks. She is very powerful. She wears a crown of bee-hive. She is clothed with a black garment, is bedecked with all sorts of ornaments. She has by her a *karanja* tree. She rides on a buffalo.”¹

The image we are here describing is represented as riding a buffalo and having four arms. But in other details it does not agree with the above description. Three of its hands are broken, so it cannot be said what they once held. The left upper hand, which, however, is still intact, clearly holds a *pāṣa*. This image is, therefore, quite distinct from the figure described in Viṣṇvakarma-Āilpa. In Mantramahodadhī, we find the following description of Vārāhī :—

¹ “ वराहवक्त्रा वाराह्यै प्रलयाम्बुदसन्निभाम् ।
 शङ्खदस्तां वरदाभयदण्डकरान्विताम् ॥
 सदैष्टान्तु महावीर्यां करण्डमुकुटोज्ज्वलाम् ।
 कृष्णाम्बरधरां देवीं सर्वाभरणभूषिताम् ॥
 करञ्जदृ मसंयुक्तां महिषपञ्चजाहिनीम् ॥ ” (७।१७-२८)

“ I meditate upon Vārāhī, whose colour is black like that of a cloud ; whose breasts are beautiful, who has got three eyes ; whose face is like that of a sow ; who has a moon on her crest ; holds the earth on her tusks ; who holds in her hands a sword, a shield, a *pāṇa* and a goad ; who rides on her own particular vehicle and who is adorned with good ornaments.”¹

The image of Dōma-gaṇḍarā, of which we are now speaking, appears to answer the above description.

Narasimhi.

The goddess Nārasimhi found at Baḍasāi has eight hands, in her three right hands she holds ghaṇṭā (bell), khadga (sword) and mace, the fourth gives protection, in her left three she holds vajra, shield, and pāṇa (noose); and the fourth gives blessing. (Fig. 32). This goddess is one of the eight great Çaktis. She is described in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa as the female energy of God in his Nṛsimha (man-lion) form.² She is further represented with a figure of Vārāhī below the right hand, and a small figure of Brāhmī below the left hand.

Gauri.

A beautiful figure of Gaurī is found in the Maṇināgeçvara. She has four hands of which however two are broken. (Fig. 33).

Mahis-
mardini or
Mahalaksmi

There is an image of goddess Mahiṣamardini in Hariharapur, the former capital of Mayūra-bhaṇja. Another image of this goddess is also

1 “मेघश्यामरुचिं मनोहरकुचां नेत्रयोद्भासितां
कीलास्यां शशिशिखरां वसुधया दंष्ट्रातले शोभिनीम् ।
विभाणां स्वकरास्त्रैरसिलतां चर्मासिपाशं सृणिं
वाराहीमनुचितये स्ववाह्नारुढां ग्रभालंकृतीम् ॥ ” (१०।३८)

2 “नारसिंही नृसिंहस्य विभती सटशवपुः ।
प्राप्ता तव घटाक्षेपचिपन्नचवसंहतिः ॥ ” (८८।८)



found in the village Baḍa Belākuṭi, six miles away from Baḍasāi. The former is known by the local people as Gaḍa Chaṇḍī and the latter as Budhār Chaṇḍī. Besides these, figures of Mahā-Lakṣmī have been found in Ayodhyā, Purāṇa-gāo and Kānīsālī. It is generally believed here that the image of Mahiṣamardini at Haripur was worshipped at Haripurgaḍa up to the time of Rājā Harihara Bhañja. From this, the goddess came to be known as Gaḍa-Chaṇḍī. The worship of this goddess was probably discontinued from the time when Rājā Vaidyanātha Bhañja was converted to Vaiṣṇavism by Rasikānanda Thākura. That this goddess used to be worshipped by the Bhañja Rājās five or six centuries ago, however, admits of no doubt. The following instructions for meditating on Mahā-Lakṣmī or Mahiṣamardini are found in Mantramahodadhi by Mahīdhara :—

“ I worship Mahā-Lakṣmī, the slayer of the buffalo (demon), who holds in her hands a garland of akṣas, a battle-axe, a club, an arrow, a kuliça (thunderbolt), a lotus, a bow, a kaman-ḍalu (ascetic's water-pot), a stick, a çakti (a weapon), a shield, a conch-shell, a bell, a wine-cup, a spear, a *pāçā* (a noose used as a weapon) and a sudarçana (a disc used as a weapon); whose colour is red like that of *pravāla* and who was born out of the energy of the gods.”¹

A tradition is current to the effect that the face and some of the hands of the image of Mahā-

¹ “अचक्षुक्पश्यगदेषुकुलिश' पञ्च धनु' कुलिकाम्
दण्ड' शक्तिमसिच चर्मजलदं वयटां सुराभाजनम् ।
गुलं पाश-सुदर्शनं च दधतीं हस्तैः प्रवालप्रभाम् ।
सेवे सेरिभमर्द्धी नीमिह महालक्ष्मीं सुरौजीहवाम् ॥ ” (१८।१४५)

Lakṣmī at Haripur were disfigured by Kālāpāhār, the great iconoclast. (Fig. 34). The other statues are smaller than this one. The lion is placed on the right of the images of Mahā-Lakṣmī mentioned above; but it stands on the left of the old images of the same goddess that we found at Vateṣvara, Çukleṣvara, Jhāreṣvara and other places, in the district of Cuttack. Of these, the image of Bhagavatī at Vateṣvara is believed by the people of the locality to be much older than that of the temple of Jagannātha. It is about seven feet high and made of black chlorite stone. So large an image of Mahā-Lakṣmī is to be found nowhere else in Orissa. (Fig. 35). "Mahālakṣmī plays an important part in the modern Çaiva and Tāntrika worship."¹ This goddess was once worshipped even in some remote islands of the Indian Ocean.²

Khichinge-
cvari.

Although the Rājās of Mayūrabhaṇja are now followers of the Vaiṣṇava faith, yet the goddess Khichingeṣvari, which belongs to the Çākta cult, is still the tutelary deity of the family. Khichingeṣvari is worshipped in the same manner as the goddess Vana-Durgā. But the worship of the latter does not accord with the description given below. In the Keunjhar and Nilgiri States where she is also worshipped, she has four arms. With her upper right hand she holds a *kartari* (a small dagger-like weapon), with her upper left she gives assurance of safety to her devotees, while with her two lower hands she is slaying a crowned prince with a sword. This image is enshrined in the palace of Bāripadā and worshipped by the Rājās themselves down to this day! It is made

¹ Mahāmahopādhyaya H. P. Sastri's Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS., Durbar Library, Nepal, p. lxix.

² J. Crawford's Indian Islands and Adjacent Countries, p. 57.



of silver. The original site of this goddess was Khiching in Pāñchpīr. Among the people she goes by the name of “Kīchakeçvarī.” Many believe that this image was established by the Vairāṭa Rājās.¹

The village Baḍasāi was at one time the chief centre of Tāntrika influence. Here men were sacrificed daily in the temple of Pāṣa-Chaṇḍī. There is a small tank by the side of this temple, within which, if properly searched, human skulls may still be found.² From the fact that human sacrifices were frequently offered here, the place subsequently came to be known by the name “Bali-muṇḍali.” The image of Pāṣa-Chaṇḍī has now been removed to Bāripadā. The goddess, though known here as Pāṣa-Chaṇḍī, is called in the Tantras “Rudra-Bhairavī.” (Fig. 37). The image corresponds in many respect to the hideous form of Chāmuṇḍā.

Pasa-
Chandi or
Rudra-
Bhairavi.

The following instructions for meditating on Rudra-Bhairavī are found in the Jñānārṇava Tantra :—

“[One should meditate upon] the goddess, bright as a thousand rising suns, having the moon on her crest, having three-eyes, beautifully decorated with various ornaments, destroyer of all enemies, killer of *mundalis* vomiting blood, wearing blood-red cloth, holding in her hands a trident, a *damaru*, a sword, a *khetaka* (a weapon), a *pināka* (a weapon), arrows, a *pāca*

¹ For a description of this goddess, *vide* Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanja, Vol. II.

² See Report of Baḍasāi.

and an *ankuśa*, a book, and the rosary of *akṣas* and seated on a dead body.”¹

The worship of the goddess Bhairavī was prevalent not only among the Hindu but also the Buddhistic *çāktas*. She is still worshipped by the Buddhists of Nepāl.²

Vagīçvari.

There is a hill called Ghāt-çila at Dhudhuā 5 miles to the south-west of the Pratāpapur Dak bungalow, and in a cave of that hill may be seen side by side the images of Vāgīçvari and Gaṇeṣa. Both appear to be very ancient. Their workmanship has been worn out, and they are now neglected and without worshippers. But there is sufficient evidence to show that in ancient times the above-named goddess was worshipped both by the Buddhist and Hindu Tāntrikas. Another image of Vāgīçvari is also found lying at the foot of a tree in village Tuṇḍarā near Bhīmāpur in the district of Balasore. It is said that this image previously existed in a temple on the sea-side. But no trace of that temple is to be found now. This image also appears to be seven or eight centuries old. Images of the goddess are enshrined at the temples at Gaya and Benares, while her glory and powers are described in the Svayambhū Purāṇa and Kāçī-Khaṇḍa.³ She

¹ “उद्यद्भानुसहस्राभां चन्द्रदुर्गां विलीचनान् ।
नानालङ्कारसुभगां सर्ववैरिनिकृन्तिनीम् ॥
वमदुधिरमुण्डालीकलितां रक्तशसौम् ।
विशूलं डमरुं खड्गं तथा खेटकमेव च ॥
पिनाकञ्च शरान् देवीं पाशाद्गुणयुगं क्रमात् ।
पुलकञ्चाचमालाञ्च शवसिंहासनस्थिताम् ॥”

² Dr. Oldfield's Nipāl, Vol. II. p. 199.

³ Mahāmahopadhyāya H. P. Sāstri's Notices of Sanskrit Mss., belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal, Intro. p. lvii.



is worshipped even in China, Japan and Tibet.' The following directions for meditating on the image are given in the Tantra :—

“मुक्ताकान्तिनिभां देवीं ज्योत्स्नाज्जालात्रिकाश्रिनीम् ।

मुक्ताहारयुतां शुभ्रां शशिखण्डविमण्डिताम् ॥

विभ्रतां दत्तहस्ताभ्यां व्याख्यां वर्णस्य मालिकाम् ॥

अमृतेण तथा पूर्णं घटं दिव्यज्ज पुस्तकं ।

दधतां वामहस्ताभ्यां पीनस्तनभराश्रितां ।

मर्ध्यं क्षीणं तथा स्त्रक्कां नानातन्त्रविभूषितां ॥”

(तन्त्रसारधृत)

There are traces of old *chaityas* on both sides of the two above-mentioned images. (Fig. 36). It appears from this that at one time they were worshipped by the Buddhists.

MAHAYĀNA OR BUDDHIST TĀNTRIKA INFLUENCE.

Numerous images of Bodhisattva and Çakta belonging to the Mahāyāna Tāntrika school of Buddhism have been discovered at Bāripadā, Hariharpur, Baḍasāi, Rāṇibāndh, and Khiching* in the Mayūrabhaṇja State, and at Ayodhyā and Dhupçilā in the Nilgiri States, on the borders of Mayūrabhaṇja and at several places in the Balasore district. So many relics of the Buddhist Tāntrika period have been found in these places and within so a short period, that it is but natural to hope that wonderful results will follow if the whole of Mayūrabhaṇja and its

* *Vide* A. Grünwedel's *Buddhist Art in India*, p. 45.

* For the Buddhist ruins at Khiching, see *Archæological Survey Report of Mayurabhanja*, Vol. II.

Avalokite-
cvara.

adjacent places be thoroughly surveyed and explored. The principal deity worshipped by the Buddhists of the Mahāyāna school is Avalokiteśvara or Padmapāni. Images of this deity have been found in Mayūrabhaṅja, Nilgiri and in several places of the district of Balasore. Avalokiteśvara was worshipped wherever Buddhism prevailed, from Russia to Cape Comorin and from Afghanistan to Cambodia, between the third and seventh centuries of the Christian era. Fifteen centuries ago Buddhists of the Mahāyāna school used to take the name of this deity at all times, both in prosperity and adversity, just as the Hindus of Bengal and Orissa take those of Durgā and Hari. The Chinese travellers, Fa Hian, Yuan Chuang and others, saw images of Avalokiteśvara at all the Buddhist places of pilgrimage in India including Afghanistan. Fa Hian records that in the fifth century A.D., every Buddhist of the Mahāyāna school in Mathurā and the Central Provinces used to worship Avalokiteśvara, Prajñāpāramitā and Mañjuṣrī.* Yuang Chuang saw numerous images of Avalokiteśvara (Kuan-tzū-tsai) both in northern and southern India. The most remarkable of these was the silver one, ten feet high, situated on the western side of the Bodhi tree at Gayā.† The Chinese traveller observed in many places the image of Tārā on the left side of Avalokiteśvara and in several other places images of Avalokiteśvara and Tārā on the right and left sides respectively of Buddha.‡ Yuan Chuang in describing his visit

* See Fo-kwo-ki, Ch. xvii.

† Beal's Si-yu-ki, Vol. II, p. 119.

‡ Beal's Si-yu-ki, Vol. II, p. 103.

to Kanauj, writes thus about the Emperor Harṣa-varḍhana :—

“ When the ministers of state pressed Harṣa-varḍhana to succeed his brother and avenge his murder, the narrative goes on to relate, the prince determined to take the advice of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteṣvara (Kuan-tzū-tsai). An image of this Bodhisattva, which had many spiritual manifestations, stood in a grove of this district near Ganges. To this he repaired, and after due fasting and prayer, he stated his case to the Bodhisattva. An answer was graciously given which told the prince that it was his good *karma* to become king, and that he should, accordingly, accept the offered sovereignty and then raise Buddhism from the ruin into which it had been brought by the king of Karnaśuvārṇa, and afterwards make himself a great kingdom. The Bodhisattva promised him secret help, but warned him not to occupy the actual throne, and not to use the title *Mahārāja*. Thereupon Harṣa-varḍhana became king of Kanauj with the title of Rājaputra and the style *Çilāditya*. ”*

About the images of Avalokiteṣvara at Pauṇḍravardhana and Dhānyakāṭaka, the traveller gives the following description :—

“ At Pauṇḍra-varḍhana, nothing is hid from its divine desirement ; its spiritual perception is most accurate ; men far and near consult (this being) with fasting and prayers. * * * At Dhānyakāṭaka, masters of Çāstras recited Sin-to-lo-ni (Hṛidaya-dhāraṇī) in front of Avalokiteṣvara abstaining from food and drink.”†

* Watter's *On Yuan Chuang*, Vol. I, p. 343.

† Beal's *Si-yu-ki*, Vol. II, p. 195 and p. 224.

He saw numerous images of Avalokiteṣvara at Nālandā. Regarding the image which he found in the middle of the monastery, the traveller writes:—"In the exact middle of the Vihāra is a figure of Kuan-tzū-tsai Bodhisattva. Although it is of small size, yet its spiritual appearance is of an affecting character. In its hand it holds a lotus flower; on its head is a figure of Buddha."* The images of Avalokiteṣvara found at Rāṇibāndh in Mayūrabhaṅja and the large image brought from Kasbā to the Municipal office at Balasore are of the same description as that given by the Chinese traveller. The image of Padmapānī or of Avalokiteṣvara in a sitting posture at Kasbā,† is the largest of those of Lokeṣvara mentioned above. Its face is attractive and the architectural workmanship is also of a high order. But it is a matter of great regret that both its hands are broken. Only the upper part of the left arm and a lotus with its stem are intact. A figure of Amitābha on the crown of this image shows that it is a figure of Padmapānī Bodhisattva. Below the image is the figure of a devotee, and also some objects of worship. (Fig. 43).

At Ayodhyā in the Nilgiri States a four-armed image of Lokeṣvara has been discovered. This measures 18" by 10" and has been kept in a small room in front of the temple of Mārīchī. Of the four arms only the right lower one, which is held in the posture of granting a boon, is intact. The first half of the right upper hand is unbroken and wears an ornament. The other two arms are completely gone. There is a small figure of Amitābha on its crown and on each

* Beal's Si-yu-ki, Vol. II p. 183.

† This image is now kept before the Municipal office of Balasore.



39. Chaturbhuja Lokeśvara from Ayodhyā,

side a *chaitya*. On the right of the image stands Tārā with folded hands while on its left stands the four-armed Bhṛkuṭī. Below each of these goddesses are figures of female devotees worshipping with folded hands. In Mr. A. Foucher's book there is an image of Lokeṣvara of this description (Fig. 19) bearing the words:

“दक्षिणापथे मूलवास लोकनाथ.”*

The image kept beside a field at Rāṇibandh is only 3½ feet in height. Though exposed to the weather, it is not yet altogether destroyed and the skill of the artist still remains in evidence. A very beautiful image of the goddess Tārā is to be seen on the left of this one. The Avalokiteṣvara of Rāṇibandh is mentioned in Sādhanamālā Tantra as Kṣasarpaṇa Lokeṣvara. The following description of this image is given in the book:—

“He has a body bright as a crore of moons; he has a crown of braided hair, having on it a figure of Amitābha; he is seated on a throne placed on the orb of a moon which is again placed on a lotus representing the universe; his body is adorned with all sorts of ornaments; he has a smiling face; his age is about sixteen years; he is giving boons with his right hand, and holds a lotus in his left; he is joyous after having drunk the nectar which is flowing from his hand; below him is situated Sūchīmukha, with uplifted face, having a large belly, very lean and black; he resides in the hill called Potālaka; his looks are kind and benign; he is worshipped with amorous rites; he has a quiet demeanor and many good marks on his body.

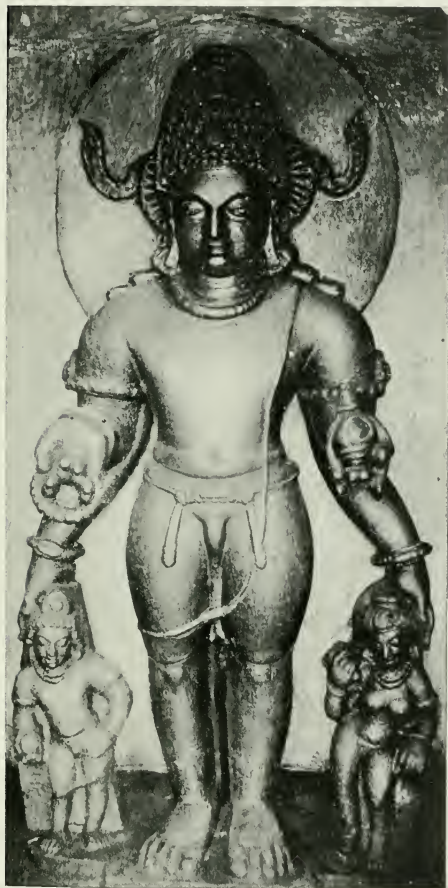
* Vide *L'Iconographie Bouddhique* par A. Foucher, Part I, p. 105, Pl. iv, no. 5.

In front of him stands Tārā and on his right there is Sudhanakumāra. Tārā has a black colour, holding in her left hand a blue lotus with stem, which by her right hand she seems to unfold, is decorated with various ornaments and has breasts which are full-developed on account of her blooming youth. Sudhanakumāra stands with folded hands, his colour is as bright as gold, he has the look of a boy, has a book in his left arm-pit and is decorated with all sorts of ornaments. On the west is Bhṛkuṭī and on the north is Hayagrīva. Bhṛkuṭī is four-armed, is bright as gold, has braided hair, holds in her left hands a tridaṇḍī and a kamaṇḍalu, and one of her right hands has a rosary of akṣas, the other indicates a posture of prayer; he has got three eyes. Hayagrīva has a blood-red complexion; he is short (in stature); he has a large belly; his hair stands erect and is bright and tawny; he wears a sacred thread of snakes; his round face is covered with tawnier beard and he has got three eyes which are round and red; his eye-brows are contracted on account of an expression of anger; he wears a garment of tiger-skin, and holds a club; the right hand stretched in a posture of prayer. All these (attendants) occupy elegant positions with their eyes turned towards the face of their leader.”¹

1 “हिमकरकोटीकिरणावदातदेहमुकुजटामुकुटममिताभकृतशेखरं विश्व-
नलिननिषण्णशिशिमण्डनाड्युपस्थंडनिषण्णसकलालङ्कारधरविश्वं श्वेत्मुखं हिरण्य-
दंश्रौर्ध्वं दक्षिणं वरदकरं वामकरेण सनालकमलधरं करविगलत्पीठ्युपधारा-
व्यवहारसिकं तदधःसमारोपितोङ्मुखं महाकुक्षिमतिह्रस्वमतिश्रितिवर्णं सूक्ष्म-
मुखं तत्पथ्यं तं श्रीमत्पीतलकाचलोदरनिवासिनं कुरुषास्त्रिधावलोकनं शङ्खार-
सपथ्यपासितमतिशानं नानालचणालङ्कृतं तस्य परतस्तारा दक्षिणपात्रं सुधन-
कुमारः । तव तारा श्यामा वामकराधिकृतसनीलीत्पला दक्षिणकरेण विकाशयन्ती
नानालङ्कारवती अभिनवयौवनीदभिन्नकचभारा । सुधनकुमारश्च कृताञ्जलिपटः



40. Khasarpana Lokeshvara from Rānibāndh.



42. Lokeçvara *from Bâripadâ.*

There is a similarity in almost every respect between the image of Āryāvalokiteṣvara referred to and the description of Kṣasarpaṇa given in the Sādhana-mālā Tantra. The image of Tārā however, differs slightly from the description quoted above. In both places, we find the latter standing with folded hands. The upper part of the image of Hayagrīva is broken (Fig. 20).

A beautiful and well-polished image of Lokeṣvara made of black stone has been found in the temple of Buḍā Jagannātha at Bāripadā, the present chief town of the Mayūra-bhaṇja State. The image is known by the people of the place as Ananta Deva.¹ But, it is in fact, an image of the four-armed god Lokeṣvara worshipped by the Buddhist Tāntrikas of the Mahāyāna school and afterwards by the Hindus. It must have been constructed and placed at the time when Buddhism was predominant here. At a later period when Rājā Vaidyanātha Bhaṇja had the temple of Jagannātha built with the materials of the ancient broken Buddhist structures, the image might have found a place in that temple. The deity is shown in a standing posture. His crown is surrounded with braided hair. In his upper right hand he holds a rosary

कनकावभासिद्यति' कुमारपुष्पारी वामकक्षत्रिंशत्पुलकः सकलालङ्कारवान् ।
पश्चिमे भृकुटी, दृश्यणीव उत्तरं । तत्र भृकुटी चतुर्भुजा ह्रिमपद्मा जटाकलापिनी
वामं विदम्बो कमण्डलुधारिदृष्टा दक्षिणं वन्दनाभिनयाचसूत्रधरकरा त्रिनेत्रा ।
दृश्यणीवो रक्तवर्णः खड्गो लम्बीदर ऊर्ध्वं ज्वलन् पिङ्गलकेशो भुजद्वयज्ञोपवीतो कपिल-
तरुशयश्रीपरिचितसुखमण्डलो रक्तवर्चुल त्रिनेत्रो भृकुटीकुटिलम्बुको व्याघ्र-
चर्माम्बरी दण्डायुधो दक्षिणकरेण वन्दनाभिनयो । एते सञ्च एव स्तनायकाननप्रेरित
दृष्टयो यथाशोभमवस्थिताः ।”

¹ But this image has no resemblance to the description of Ananta Deva found in the Purāṇas or Tantras.

of akṣas and in his upper left a conch-shell. His lower right hand is placed over the head of Sudhanakumāra and his lower left over that of the goddess Tārā. The following description of this god will be found in the well-known work on architecture Viṣvakarma-Ṣilpa :—

“God Lokeṣvara has four arms and three eyes. He has braided hair, on which there is a moon. His ornaments consist of snakes. He is white in complexion. He gives boons and encouragement with two of his hands, while with the other two he holds a rosary of akṣas and a kamaṇḍalu. He is seated on a lotus under the Bodhi tree.”¹

In this description the god is represented as seated, whereas the image which we have referred to shows him in a standing posture. In the above treatise on architecture Sudhana-kumāra and Tārā, the constant companions of Avalokiteṣvara, are not mentioned. Tārā is a well-known female figure in the Buddhist pantheon and several writers on Buddhism are of opinion “that she was originally a Tibetan goddess worshipped by the followers of the Yogācāra school.”² But according to Svatantra Tantra :—

“Tārā Nīla-sarasvatī was born on the banks of Lake Cholana on the western side of Meru (Pamir).”²

१. ‘चतुर्भुजं त्रिनेत्रं चन्द्राङ्कितजटाधरः ।
सर्पाभरणसंयुक्तः श्वेतवर्णः श्रीकेश्वरः ॥
वरदाभययुक्तश्च चन्दमालाकमण्डलुः ।
पद्मासनयुतो देवो बोधिवृक्षसमाश्रितः ॥”

Viṣvakarmaṣilpa MS. of Viṣvakosa Office Collection, p. 28a.

• Eitel's Hand-book, and the Indian Antiquary, Vol. X, p. 273.

२. ‘मेरीः पद्मिनी तु चोलनाम्नी ऋषी महान् ।
तत्र यज्ञे मयं तारा देवी नौत्सरस्वतो ॥”



43. Padmapāni Bodhisattva.



44. Arya-Tārā from Rānibāndh.



47. Jāngulī Tārā.

According to Chīnāchāra Tantra, the goddess Tārā was originally worshipped in China. It describes how Vasiṣṭha went to China and learnt from Buddha, the process of the Tārā worship. We have already mentioned this in connection with the origin of Çāktaism. In Tibet and Mongolia, Tārā is worshipped as the spiritual consort of Kuan-yin (Avalokiteṣvara).*

Besides the figure of Tārā (Mahattarī Tārā of Bauddha-Kalpa) at Rāṇibāndh some other images of Tārā have also been found at different places. One, known as Khadirāvanī Tārā, has been traced at the village of Dhūpaçilā, six miles from Nilgiri. Another known as Jāṅgulī Tārā has been discovered among the ruins of Hariharpur. A third image known as Vajra-Tārā, may be seen in the temple of Uttareṣvara Mahādeva at Ayodhyā.

Tara.

We find the following description of the goddess Tārā in the Svatantra Tantra :—

“She is black in complexion ; she has three eyes ; she has two hands with one of which she holds a lotus and with the other she gives boons ; she is surrounded by Çaktis having various colours and forms ; she has a smiling face ; she is adorned with bright pearls ; her feet are put in shoes set with jewels. She is to be meditated upon in this form.”²

In the Buddhistic work called Sādhanamālā-Tantra, Mahattarī Tārā is thus described :—

* Watter On Yuan Chuang, Vol. II. p. 107.

² “श्यामवर्णा विनयनां विभुजां वरपङ्कज ।
दधानां बहुवर्णाभि वेङ्कटाभिरुहताम् ॥
शक्तिभिः स्मरवदनां स्मरभौक्तिकमुष्णाम् ।
रत्नपादुकाभिर्यक्षपादास्तुजयुगां स्मरेत् ॥”

“Tārā is to be meditated upon as having a black complexion, and two hands, giving in her right-hand boons and holding with the left a lotus with the stem, and is decorated with all sorts of ornaments and seated on a throne placed on a lotus and moon.”¹

Arya-Tara.

As the image of Tārā found at Rāṇibāndh corresponds with the description of the goddess given above ; so we consider it to be an image of Mahattarī or Ārya Tārā.

About fifteen centuries ago, the worship of Tārā, like that of Avalokiteṣvara, was prevalent among Buddhists of the Mahāyāna school in India. The Chinese traveller Yuan Chuang witnessed in various places the worship of Tārā celebrated with great pomp and splendour. All Indian Buddhists used to adore her with special reverence. Yuan Chuang found at Nālandā a large image of Tārā ; he thus describes it :—

“To the north of a figure of Buddha—2 or 3 li, in a vihara constructed of brick, is a figure of Tārā Bodhisattva. This figure is of great height, and its spiritual appearance very striking. Every fast-day of the year large offerings are made to it. The kings and ministers and great people of the neighbouring countries offer exquisite perfumes and flowers, holding gem-covered flags and canopies, whilst instruments of metal and stone resound in turns, mingled with the harmony of flutes and harps. These religious assemblies last for seven days.”*

¹ “तारां श्यामां द्विभुजां दक्षिणे वरदां वामे सनालेन्द्रीवरधरां सञ्ज्ञाभरणभूषितां पद्मचन्द्रासने पश्येद्भक्तिदत्तां विचिन्त्येत ।”

* Beal's Si-yu-ki, Vol. II, p. 175.



45. Vajra-Târâ from Ayodhyâ.

Figures of the goddess Tārā have been found not only in India, but also in Java, Sumatra, and other islands in the Indian Ocean. Tārā, though originally a Buddhistic goddess, has been from ancient times receiving worship from the Hindu Tāntrikas as the second of the ten Mahāvidyās. It is clear from the Chināchāra-Tantra that the Hindus learnt Tārā-worship from the Buddhists. It appears that, similarly many gods and goddesses of the Buddhist pantheon gradually came to be worshipped by the Hindu Tāntrikas. These gods and goddesses are still worshipped by them.

It has already been mentioned that an image of Jāṅgulī Tārā was discovered in the midst of the ruins of the ancient fort at Hariharpur. People now give it the name of Koṭāsani or Koṭavāsini. It derived its name Jāṅgulī Tārā from the fact that Buddhist Āraṇyikas of the Mahāyāna school, who lived in this retired place, used to worship the image. In the Buddhistic Tāntrika work called Sādhanamālā, we find mention of two forms of Jāṅgulī Tārā, one two-armed and the other four-armed. We also find in the book the following description of her :—

Janguli-
Tara.

“One should meditate on (Jāṅgulī Tārā) who is white in complexion; she has two or four arms; and wears a crown of braided hair; she has white garments and white ornaments, is decorated with white serpents, is seated on a throne of *saltra*; plays on *Vīṇā* by her main hands, holds with her second right hand a white snake and gives protection with the left; she is surrounded with a halo like that of moon.”¹

¹ “शुक्लवर्णां द्विभुजां चतुर्भुजां वा जटासुकुटिनीं शुक्लांशुकीचरीषां शितालङ्कार-
वतीं शुक्लसर्पभूषितां सत्त्वपथ्यङ्गासनासीनां मूलभुजाभ्यां वीणां वादयन्तीं द्वितीयवाम-
दक्षिणभुजाभ्यां मितसर्पाभयमुद्राधरां चन्द्रांशुमालिनीं भाषयेत् ।”

The image of Koṭāsani is two-armed. Its workmanship is not of a high order; this may perhaps be due to the fact that it was made by Çramaṇas living in the forest. The image from its outward look appears to be very ancient. The goddess is supposed to have been worshipped by the Çramaṇas of the Mahāyāna sect when they used to reside in this part of the country. Afterwards, when the fort was constructed here, the people of the locality began to worship her as its "Koṭāsani" or Guardian deity of the fort. The goddess, however, is not worshipped by any higher-class people. Poor *Dehuris* of the Bāthuri or Bhumiya caste in the village occasionally give offerings to her.

Several broken images of Ārya Tārā and Jāyguḷi Tārā have been found near Khiching in the Pāncḥpīr sub-division of Mayūrabhaṇja.*

Vajra Tara.

It has been mentioned above that an image of Vajra-Tārā was found in the temple of Uttareçvara Çiva at Ayodhya in the Nilgiri States. People call her by the name of "Chaṇḍī Thākurāṇī." This image was discovered amongst the vast ruins of ancient Buddhistic structures at Aycdhyā, and afterwards placed in the above temple. The following description of her is given in the Buddhistic Tantrik work called "Sādhana Samuḥchaya":—

"Goddess Tārā should be meditated upon as situated in the midst of the Mātrikās (divine mothers), having eight arms and four faces, decorated with all sorts of ornaments, having the colour of gold, looking benign, and shewing the features of a maiden, seated on a moon placed on

* For particulars of these Taras, *vide* Mayurabhanja Archaeological Survey, Vol II.



a lotus representing the universe, having faces of yellow, black, white and red complexion consecutively from left to right; having three eyes in each face; she is seated on a diamond throne, has a red-coloured body, having on her crowns the four Buddhas, and holding in her right hands a *vajra*, an arrow, a conchshell and *vara*, and in her left hands a lotus bow, diamond goad, a diamond *pāda*, and with the fore-finger of the other left hand she points above.”¹

The workmanship of the figure is admirable. Another image of Tārā has been found in the temple of Maṇināgeçvara at Purāṇagāo in the Nilgiri States. This image is known both in the Hindu and Buddhist Tantras as that of Kurukullā. The Sādhana-mālā Tantra of Nepal gives the following description of the goddess:—

“Her colour is red, she is seated on a red lotus, wears a red garment and a red crown, has four arms, gives assurance of protection with one of the right hands and holds an arrow with the other, holds a quiver of jewels with one of left hands and with the other an arrow of buds of red lotus set on a bow of flowers which is drawn up to the ear.”²

¹ “मातृमण्डलमध्यस्थां तारादेवीं विभावयेत् ।

अष्टबाहुं चतुर्वक्त्रां सर्वालङ्कारभूषिताम् ॥

कनकवर्णाभां भव्यां कुमारीलक्ष्णोज्ज्वलाम् ।

विश्वपद्मासनासौनवन्द्यासनसुसंस्थिताम् ॥

प्रीतकृष्णसितरक्तसव्यावर्तचतुर्मुखाम् ।

प्रतिमुखं विनेवच्च वज्रपथ्यङ्गसंस्थिताम् ॥

रक्तपद्मां चतुर्विधमुकुटीं वज्रशरशङ्खवरददविण्मलसत्कराम् ।

उत्पलचापवज्राङ्गुशवज्रपाशतर्जनीवामलसत्कराम् ॥”

² “रक्तवर्णां रक्तपद्मासनां रक्ताम्बरां रक्तकिरीटवतीं चतुर्भुजां सव्येऽभयप्रदां
अन्येन समापूरितशरां वामेकेन रत्नतूणधरां अपरेण आकर्णकपाशकोत्पल-
कलिकाशरविराजितकुसुमचापधराम् ।”

Kurukulla.

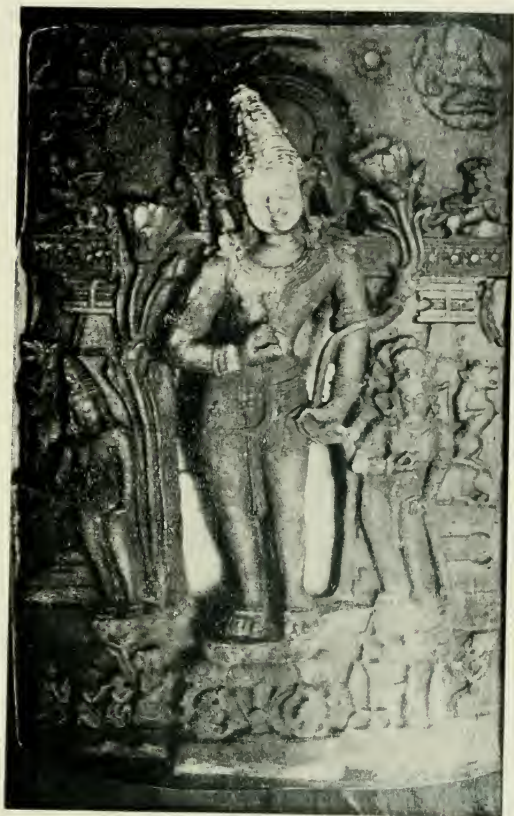
It is to be regretted that both the right arms of the image are broken. The goddess can now be identified from her left arms. (Fig. 27).* The image found at Dhūpaçilā, although much damaged, shows admirable skill in sculptural and decorative art, and resembles that of Tārā discovered in Magadha.†

Manjucri.

The worship of Mañjuçrī and Maitreya Bodhisattva like that of Avalokiteṣvara and Tārā was very prevalent among the Buddhists of the Mahāyāna school. This fact is mentioned by the Chinese traveller Fā-Hian. Images of the deities have also been found at Ayodhyā. On the right side of the image of Mārīchī Thākurāṇī, the present tutelary goddess of Ayodhyā, is a figure of Mañjuçrī and on her left, one of Avalokiteṣvara. These images were discovered about fifty years ago amongst the ruins at Ayodhyā. The figure stands on a lotus. Over the head of the image of Mañjuçrī and on both sides there are figures of Vidyādhara. Below these and on either side of the head of the central figure, are figures of Kinnarīs. The central figure has two arms. The left hand which holds a lotus is placed on the breast. On the right side, is the image of Sudhanakumāra, also standing on a lotus. He points to heaven with the fore-finger of his right hand. There is a book under his left arm which is placed over his thigh. Beside that there is a lotus with its stem. On the left side of the central figure, is an image of Yamāri standing on a bull. There are serpents on its head and arms. It holds up the fore-finger of the right hand and in the left hand

* Compare with the figure of Tārā in Foucher, Part I, p. 136, Fig. 22.

† See Foucher, Part I, p. 136, Fig. 22.



has a mace. On the right side of Sudhanakumāra and on the left of Yamāri, there is a lion on an elephant. Lower down on the right side, are the images of the four Çaktis Lochanā, Māmakī, Pāṇḍarā and Tārā and further down is the figure of a female devotee with offerings in her hands. This image of Mañjuçrī is 3'4" × 2'3".

The following description of Mañjuçrī is found in the Sādhanamālā Tantra :—

“One should meditate upon his self as having a yellow complexion, with the mystic representation of the hand held in a posture of explanation, decorated with jewelled ornaments, wearing a jewelled-crown, having in the left arm a lotus, seated on lion and having on the crown a figure of Akṣobhya. On his right is Sudhanakumāra, who is born of Sukāra-vīja, is bright with ornaments of various kinds, has a crown of jewels, holds under his arms a book of all religions and stands with his hands folded. On the left, there is Yamāri who is of darker complexion, is born of Hūykāra-vīja, has a deformed face, and a mace in his hands, has hair which are tawny and upright, and is decorated with various ornaments. Then, on his right and left sides, there are Chandraprabha and Sūryaprabha. In the four directions there are Vairochana, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha and Amogha-siddhi and in the four corners (*e. g.* Āgneya &c.) there are Lochanā, Māmakī, Pāṇḍarā and Tārā.”*

* “दीतवर्णं व्याख्यानमुद्राधरं रत्नभूषणं रत्नमुकुटिनं वामेनोत्पलं सिंहासनस्थं
अक्षोभ्याक्रान्तमोलिनं भावयेत् आत्मनम् । ततो दक्षिणपार्श्वे सुकारवीजसम्भवः
सुधनकुमारेण नानारत्नाभरणोज्ज्वलो रत्नमुकुटो सर्वधर्मकपुलकचक्षिप्तः सम्यु-
टाञ्जलिपूर्वकान्तिश्रेष्ठः । वामपार्श्वे यमारिः कृष्णवर्णो हुंकारवीजोद्भवो विकृताननो ।
मुद्गरदन्तोः पिङ्गलोद्देशो नानाभरणभूषितः । ततो दक्षिणोत्तरपार्श्वे चन्द्रप्रभ-

The above description to a great extent resembles the form of Mañjuçrī. "He was one of the great Bodhisattvas, often figuring as first or chief of all these Mahāyāna creation."* He is the tutelary Bodhisattva of Nepal, and is revered there by the Buddhist community more than any other deity.† Mañjuçrī was once worshipped throughout the Buddhist world from Corea to Java. He is still worshipped by the Buddhists of China, Japan, Tibet and other places.‡

Marichi.

Images of Mārīchī have been found at Khiching in Mayūrabhañja, and at Ayodhyā and Sujānāgarh in the Nilgiri States. She is known at Khiching as Chaṇḍī Thākuraṇī, at Ayodhyā as Marīchī Thākuraṇī and at Sujānāgarh as Budhār Chaṇḍī. The image at Khiching is of a different type from those found at Ayodhyā and Sujānāgarh, the latter two being of the same type§. The following description of Mārīchī is found in the Sādhana-mālā Tantra:—

"She is white in complexion, has three faces, three eyes and eight arms. Her face on the right side is red and on the left is blue, distorted and like that of a sow. She holds in her right hands a *raja*, a goad, an arrow and a *sūchi* and in her left hands aṣoka-leaves, a bow, a *sūtra* with an uplifted forefinger. She has on her crown (a figure of)

मूर्त्यप्रभौ । पृष्ठादिदिशिभामिषु वैरोचनरत्नसंभवाभितामानीषः सङ्ग्रहः श्राद्धेशादि-
कीर्णेषु लोचना-सामक्री-पाण्डुरा-ताराश्चति ।"

* *Vide* Watters, On Yuan Chuang, Vol. I, p. 304.

† Dr. Oldfield's Nipal.

‡ A. Grunwedel's Buddhist Art in India, pp. 200-201.

§ For the Marichi of Khiching, *vide* Archaeological Survey of Mayurabhanja, Vol. II.



Vairochana. She is decorated with various ornaments and seated in the midst of a *chaitya*. She wears a scarlet under-garment, jacket and scarf. She rides on a chariot drawn by seven boars. She is standing with her one foot doubled and the other foot stretched (in the attitude of an archer about to shoot an arrow). She is placed in the middle of a chariot which is carried on with the awfully terrible Rāhu about to devour the sun and moon, which are produced from *Hang-kāra*, and situated in the atmosphere produced from *Pang-kāra*. She is surrounded by four goddesses. On her eastern side there is goddess Battālī, who has a red colour, has the face of a sow, has four arms, holds in her right hands a *sūchi* and a goad and in her left hands *pāṣa* and *aṣoka* and wears a red jacket. On her southern side there is goddess Vadālī who is yellow-coloured, holds in her two right hands a *sūchi* and a *vajra* and in her two left hands *aṣoka* and a *pāṣa*, has the form of a maiden and is decorated with the ornaments befitting her blooming youth. On her western side, there is Varālī, who is white-coloured, holds in her right hands a *vajra* and *sūchi* and in her left hands a *pāṣa* and *aṣoka*, stands with her one foot doubled and her other foot stretched and has a beautiful form. On her northern side, there is Varāhamukhī, the red-coloured goddess who has three eyes and four arms, and who holds in her right hands a *vajra* and an arrow and in her left hands a bow and *aṣoka* and has a bright form. Having meditated upon all these, &c.”¹

¹ “मूर्त्यं पीतनांकारं ध्यात्वा तद्विनिर्गतरस्मिन्निवहैराकाशे समाकृत्य भगवती-
मशतः स्थापयेत् ।—गौरीं विमुखीं त्रिंतामष्टभुजां, रत्नदक्षिणमुखीं नील-
विकृतवामवराहमुखीं, वज्राङ्गुशरमूचीधारिदक्षिणकरामशोकपल्लवचापम्वतर्जनी-

The description which we have quoted above from the Buddhist Tāntrika work already referred to, corresponds with the images found at Ayodhyā and Sujanāgarh. (Fig. 49). These figures may safely be taken to be those of Mārīchī. The image at Ayodhyā is large, about 3' 6" high, while that at Sujanāgarh is only a cubit in height. Over the image at Ayodhyā the following well known Buddhistic formulæ are found inscribed :—

Right side.

- L. 1. ओं ये धर्मा देतुप्रभवा
L. 2. इवदन्तेषां च यो
L. 3. अथवाः

Left side.

- देतु स्तेषां तथागतो
निरीधी एवं वादी श्रीमहा

The characters used in the inscription resemble those prevalent in northern India in the tenth and eleventh centuries of the Christian era. (Fig. 49a). From this we suppose that this image and similar other Buddhistic images of Ayodhyā belong to that period. In all likelihood the image at Sujanāgarh also belongs to the same period. The Rājas of Nilgiri are Hindus. But they have been worshipping the above-mentioned Buddhistic goddess from very ancient times. The goddess at Sujanāgarh known as Budhāra Chaṇḍī or Buddhist Chaṇḍī referred to above is everywhere known to be the tutelary deity of the

धरवामचतुःकरा वैरोचनमुकुटिनीं नानाभरणवतीं चैत्यगर्भस्थितां रक्ताम्बरकञ्चु-
कीनरीयां समशकररदाङ्गां प्रत्यालीढपदां पङ्कारजवायुमण्डलं वङ्कारजचन्द्रसूर्य-
यादिसङ्कीर्णराहुसमधिष्ठितरथमध्यां देवीचतुष्टयपरिहतां तत्र पुष्पादिशि वत्सालीं
रक्तां वराहमुखीं चतुर्भुजां दृष्ट्युग्रधारिदक्षिणहस्तां पाशाशोकधारिवामहस्तां
रक्तकञ्चुकीक्षितां । तथा दक्षिणे वदालीं पीतमशोकसूचीवामदक्षिणभुजां वज्रपाश-
दक्षिणवामकरां वुमारोक्तदिशि नवधौवनालङ्कारवतीं । तथा पश्चिमे वदालीं शक्तां
वज्रसूचीवदक्षिणभुजां पाशाशोकधरवामकरां प्रत्यालीढपदां सुरूपिणीं चितां ।
तथोत्तरदिगभागे वराहमुखीं रक्तां विनयनां चतुर्भुजां वज्रशरवदक्षिणकरां पापा-
शोकधरवामकरां दिव्यरूपिणीं ध्यात्वा ।”



Nilgiri Rājās. It seems from this that this family had also embraced Buddhist faith in times past.

Besides these, images of Sita Mārīchī, Uḍḍi-yāna Mārīchī and Aṣokāntā Mārīchī have been discovered in the Panch-pir Sub-division of Mayūrabhanja. As they are found lying outside the limits of Mayūrabhanja proper, I refrain from giving an account of them here.*

In front of the image of Mārīchī at Ayodhyā, there is another beautiful image which displays great architectural skill and decorative art. It is about one cubit and a half in height and has the face of a sow and four arms, and is known to the people of the place as an image of goddess Vārāhī. But the figure does not in all respects resemble the goddess Vārāhī, as she is described in the Hindu Tantras. It appears to us to be the image of a different goddess. The following is a description of goddess Battālī given in Sādhana-kalpalatā :—

"Battālī has a red colour, has the face of a sow, and has four arms, holds a *sūchi* and a goad in her right hand and a *pāṣa* and *aṣoka* in her left hands, wears a scarlet jacket, stands with her left foot doubled and right foot stretched (like an archer) and has a beautiful form."

Battali.

The above-mentioned four-armed goddess completely resembles the form described in the sentence quoted. We, may therefore, take it to be an image of Battālī, an attendant of Mārīchī. This goddess is called Bārttālī in the Hindu Tantras. The following description

* See Vol. II of the Report for detailed account.

¹ "वत्ताली रक्ता वराहमुखी चतुर्भुजा सूचदुश्चारिदक्षिणहस्ता पाशाशो-
कधारिबाणहस्ता रक्तकंचुकी प्रत्यालीङ्गपदा मुहयिणी चेति ।"

of her is given in the Mantramohodadhi by Mahīdhara :—

“I salute Bārtīlī, who holds in her lotus hands a mace and a plough and gives protection and boons with the remaining hands, has got beautiful breasts, wears red garment and has three eyes and the face of a sow.”¹

Dharma

In the fifth century of the Christian era, Dharma, one of the Buddhistic trinity, came to be represented in the form of a goddess. A female form of Dharma similar to the above, has been discovered near the Mahā-bodhi. Such forms are also found in all Buddhistic Chaityas in Nepal. An image of Dharma has also been found at Baḍasāi. (Fig. 52). The Buddhist Newars worship Dharma as a goddess, under the names of Ādi Dharma, Prajñā Pāramitā, Dharma Devī, Ārya Tārā and Gayeṣvari.

Citala.

In every *chaitya* in Nepal, wherever an image of Dharma is enshrined, there stands invariably a figure of Hāritī or Çitalā. At Baḍasāi even, close to the small *chaitya*, in which is enshrined the image of Dharma, a figure of Çitalā has been found. Referring to the Çitalā found in the Buddhist Nepal, Dr. Oldfield writes:—“The goddess Çitalā was universally believed to afford necessary protection to all those who sought her aid. The Buddhists accordingly recognised her divinity and besought her protection. They... erected a temple to her honour beneath the very shadow of the temple of Ādi Buddha at Sambhunāth. It is annually visited by thousands of Buddhists as well as of Hindus.”*

¹ “दृष्ट्वा जे मृषलं दृष्ट्वा भयवरान् संविभतीं सन्कुचाम् ।

वार्त्तालीमरुणास्वरां दिनयनी वन्दे बराहाननाम् ॥” (१०।७३)

* Vide Dr. Oldfield's Nipal, Vol. II, p. 236.



51. Citlā from Badāsū.



53. A Chailya from Badāsū.



52. Dharma from Badāsū.

There is something peculiar about the image of Çitalā found at Baḍsāi. While the right lower half of her body is decorated with ornaments, the left half is devoid of any, and almost nude. She holds a besom in her right hand and a pitcher in the left. Over her head she holds a *sūrpa* (winnowing-basket). Behind her is a donkey. The following description of her is given in the Tantras:—

“I worship Çitalā of white complexion, who rides on a donkey, holds a besom and a full pitcher in her hands, and is sprinkling nectar from the pitcher with the help of the besom for the purpose of soothing burning pains; who is nude, holds a winnowing basket over her head, and is decorated with (ornaments of) gold and jewels; and who has three eyes, and is the soother of all terrible burning pains arising out of small-pox and similar other diseases.”¹

In the above verses Çitalā is described as being nude. But the image at Baḍsāi is partially draped. She is known by the people as the goddess Kālikā. *Dehuris* belonging to the Bāthuri or some other very low caste now perform the pūjā of this goddess. (Fig. 51).

Besides the Buddhist relics referred to above, there is a miniature Chaitya at Baḍsāi known as Chandrasenā.* (Fig. 53). This is worshipped by the local people.

Chandra
Sena.

¹ “बौ श्वेताङ्गौ रासभस्यां करयुगविलसन्मार्ज्जनोपूर्णकुम्भां
मार्ज्जन्या पूर्णकुम्भादस्तस्यजलं तापशान्तौ चिपत्ताम्।
दिग्बलां मूर्तिं पूर्वा कनकमणिगणैर्भूषिताङ्गौ त्रिनेत्रां
विष्कोटाद्युत्तापप्रशमनकरो शीतलां त्वा भजामि ॥”

* In the latter part of “Modern Buddhism and its followers,” we have dwelt on it at some length.

LATER VAIṢṆAVA INFLUENCE.

Slowly and steadily was Buddhism sup-
planted by Hinduism everywhere. The exalted
but abstruse dogmas of Buddhism were
replaced by the sweet religion of love and
faith. This change in religious thought was cor-
dially welcomed by the people at large. In Behar,
the original seat of Buddhism, in Bengal, where
this faith lingered longer than anywhere else,
and even in Orissa, this change was marked.
Throughout the last place Vaiṣṇava influence
became predominant. It was not the ancient
Vaiṣṇavism so ably propounded by Rāmānuja
on the lines of Vedānta philosophy, on which
we have already dwelt at some length, but
the Vaiṣṇavism of the sixteenth century as it
flourished in Bengal and made the greatest
impression upon Utkala. Here the memory of
Çrī Chaitanya, the founder of this faith, is
cherished with the greatest reverence by mil-
lions, who consider him to have been the greatest
incarnation or Avatāra of God and identical
with Jagannātha, the presiding deity of the
province. Here, in every important village, the
image of Çrī Chaitanya is worshipped along with
that of Jagannātha and Dadhivāmana. Every
evening his name is chanted and the sacred
literature of the Vaiṣṇavas, chiefly contributed to
by his disciples, is read out and explained to the
masses by the Gurus or religious preceptors, in
a spirit of fervent devotion.

Although in Bengal which was the birth-place
of this new creed of love, the Vaiṣṇava leaders
embodied their emotional faith in philosophical
dogmas, yet this new Vaiṣṇavism had a stronger
hold on Utkala. In Bengal it could not attain
to an equally widespread popularity owing to

the opposition offered by the people of the Çākta-cult.

Great has been the influence exercised by Vaiṣṇavism on the minds of the people—so much so that it has even penetrated into the innermost recesses of the country. To be able to understand this we should begin by giving a brief account of the life and teachings of Çrī Chaitanya, the God-man of Nadia, who, as already indicated, founded Vaiṣṇavism on altogether a new basis.

On the 18th February of the year 1486, corresponding to the Çaka era 1407, Çrī Chaitanya was born at Navadvīpa. The Bengal Vaiṣṇavas reckon the commencement of the Chaitanya era from this date. In the year 1510, corresponding to 1431 of the Çaka era, and in his twenty-fourth year, he renounced the world and entered upon the holy order of Sannyāsins. From that day he became known in history as Çrīkṛṣṇa-Chaitanya or simply Çrī Chaitanya.

On taking the vow of an ascetic, his first act was to set out for Orissa with a view to visit the Puri temple. The connection of his family with Utkala is of a much earlier date. It is stated in old records that his ancestors were formerly residents of Jājpur from which place they migrated to Sylhet, owing to the oppression of Rājā Bhramaravara. From the latter place, his father Jagannātha Miṣra came to and settled at Nadia. Having visited Hariharapur, Nīlagaḍa, Remuṇā and Balasore, Çrī Chaitanya came to Jājpur in 1510 A.D. where Kamala-nayana Miṣra, a scion of the family to which he belonged, was still living. While at Jājpur, Chaitanya Deva stopped at his house. After he had taken

the vow of a Sannyāsin he lived 24 years, of which he spent only 6 in visiting places of Northern and Southern India, but passed all the remaining eighteen years in Orissa. His fervent devotion and religious ecstasy had a magnetic influence which drew thousands of admiring followers wherever he went. His appearance was particularly attractive; he was, besides, a sound scholar. All this charmed Pratāpa-rudra Deva, the then reigning king of Orissa, who considered him an incarnation of the Deity. Indeed he was revered by the people of Orissa as the living personality of Çrī Jagannātha of the Puri temple. His long residence of 18 years produced a religious fervour and enthusiasm which can better be imagined than described. In our report on Pratāpapur we have already stated that in that village Mahārāja Pratāparudra Deva had an image of Çrī Chaitanya made of *nim* wood. This example set by the king was soon followed by the people, and now there is scarcely any important village in Orissa that has not its image of Chaitanya for worship. Of all the images of Çrī Chaitanya found in Orissa, the one discovered at Pratāpapur is the oldest, having been made during the life-time of the Master. It is however lying in a neglected condition, though its great historical importance ought to have attracted the attention and homage of the people. (Fig. 54).

After Çrī Chaitanya had passed away, the task of propagating his religion in Utkala devolved upon two great Vaiṣṇava apostles, Çyāmānanda and Rasikānanda. Accounts of these Vaiṣṇava worthies are to be found in almost all the important Vaiṣṇava works, but chiefly in Bhaktiratnākara, Çyāmānanda-Prakāṣa and in Rasika-Maṅgala by Gopījana-vallabha.



54. Cṛi Chaitanya-deva from *Pratāpapur*.

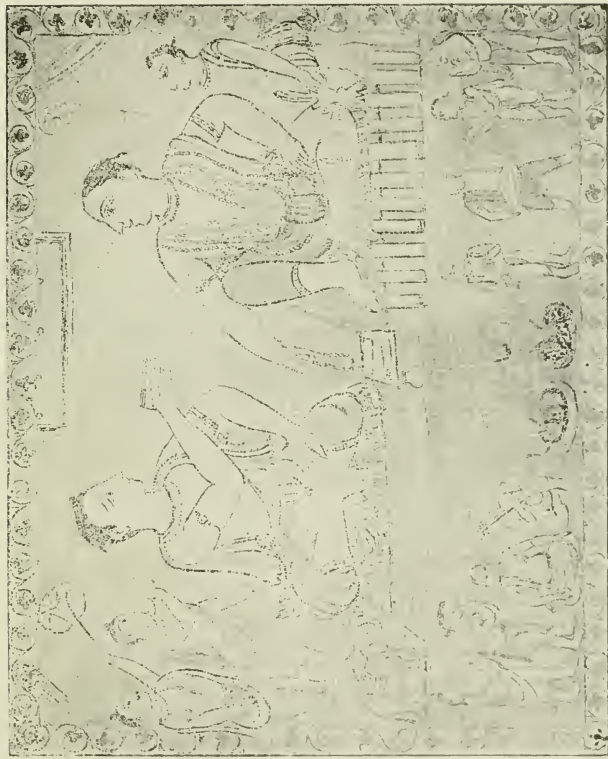
Çyāmānanda's parents lived in Gaṇḍa but afterwards came to Orissa. They first settled at Daṇḍeçvara and afterwards removed to Dhārendā Bāhādurpur where Çyāmānanda was born. After his marriage, a change came over his mind. This world and its pleasures lost their attraction for him. He left home and came to Ambikā in Kālṇā where he embraced Vaiṣṇavism under the spiritual guidance of Hṛdaya Chaitanya, a favourite disciple of Gaurīdāsa and himself a companion of Çrī Chaitanya. Çyāmānanda's preceptor commanded him to preach this religion of love to one and all in Utkala. After his renunciation, he visited the principal places of India and finally came to Vṛndāvana. Here he met Raghunātha Dāsa, on whose advice he commenced studying the Vaiṣṇava scriptures under Jīva Gosvāmin, one of the reputed Gosvāmins or spiritual leaders of the Vaiṣṇava society.

He had before this called himself Dukhī Kṛṣṇa Dāsa but henceforth adopted the name of Çyāmānanda. When Çṛīnivāsa was sent to Gauḍa with the precious works of the Gosvāmins of Vṛndāvana, Çyāmānanda was with him—sharing his grief when those treasures were seized and taken away by robbers.

There is a village named Rohiṇī in the Zamindari of the Rājā of Mayūrabhaṅja (now in Midnapur Dist.) Here, more than 300 years ago, lived a land-holder named Achyuta. Murāri, his son, was of a spiritual turn of mind even from his boyhood. This young man mastered the whole of the Vaiṣṇava literature and giving up wordly pleasures sought solitude for spiritual contemplation. Ghāṭṭilā was the place where Murāri retired and lived the life of a spiritual recluse, until a change came

over his life by the advent of Ćyāmānanda in that locality.

Ćyāmānanda had in the meantime returned from Vṛndāvana, and after having visited Ćāntipur, Nadia and Kheturi, came to Orissa. He first paid a visit to his native village, Daṇḍeçvara and then marched into the interior of the country with a view to propagating the doctrines of the Vaiṣṇava faith. So great was his influence in the surrounding country, that people of all classes, rich and poor alike, thronged to hear his instructions in religious matters and his disciples daily increased in number until a considerable part of the province came to own him as its master and spiritual guide. At Ghāṭçilā young Murāri met him, and the influence of the great master was seen in the former's immediate adoption of the Vaiṣṇava creed under his spiritual leadership. After his initiation into the Vaiṣṇava faith, Murāri took the name of Rasikānanda and followed his master on his tour throughout the province; and the devotion of the young enthusiast had a marvellous effect throughout the surrounding country. The backwoods of Orissa, where the light of the creed of love had not yet penetrated, were soon lit up with the torch held aloft by the young devotee, and to-day the major portion of the nobility of Orissa claim Rasikānanda as their great spiritual master who had first brought the light of Vaiṣṇavaism to their ancestors. We have seen that Rājā Vaidyanātha Bhañja accepted the tenets of the Vaiṣṇava faith at this time and became an ardent disciple of Rasikānanda. To-day the chiefs of Mayūrabhañja, Keonjhar and Nilgiri and Rājās of Sujāmuṭā and Patnā, and the Gosvāmins of Kesari and Kapti Matha in Puri, acknowledge the descendants of Rasikānanda as their spiri-



Cyāmananda and Rasikananda from Gopinallabhapur.

tual guides and vie with one another in shewing respect to the eldest member of Rasikānanda's line who now occupies the *gadi* and possesses immense influence and wealth.

The quilts once used by Ćyāmānanda and Rasikānanda are still in his possession. He has, besides, in his possession the pictures of these two worthies which are open to inspection by the Vaiṣṇava public on payment of a religious fee. (Fig. 55).

Rasikānanda's labours did not end in converting to his faith the chiefs and Rājās. The great body of the Buddhists, who were persecuted by Rājā Pratāparudra and were lying scattered throughout the whole province, calling themselves Braja-sutas (the name by which the Buddhists are denominated by Anākāra Saṁhitā and Rasikamaṅgala) were also converted to the Vaiṣṇava creed by the proselytising zeal of the two devotees. A mythological story is current in the Vaiṣṇava community to the effect that while at Vṛndāvana, Ćyāmānanda got possession of an anklet belonging to Rādhā. The mark worn on the forehead of the followers of Ćyāmānanda and Rasikānanda resembles an anklet which distinguishes them from the rest of the Vaiṣṇavas.

At Gopīvallabhapur, in Midnapur, there is an image of Kṛṣṇa known by the name of Gopīvallabha, which was enshrined by Rasikānanda. The temple dedicated to the deity was in charge of Ćyāmā, the wife of Rasikānanda. To-day the eldest member of Rasikānanda's line is the rightful custodian of this temple, wielding thence an influence which is acknowledged alike by the rich and the poor of Orissa.

II.

MODERN BUDDHISM, AND ITS FOLLOWERS IN ORISSA.

- (a) Rise of the different schools, from the 1st to the 15th Century; (b) Ethnological discoveries; (c) Buddhism in Utkal from the 16th to the 18th Century onwards; (e) The revival of the Mahāyāna School and their present followers.

Towards the end of the 1st Century of the Christian era, the Scythian King Kaniska held a council of Buddhists at Jālandhar. At this council the Buddhists were found to be divided into two schools, one following the purer doctrine of Buddha himself, in spite of all the difficulties and obstacles that he had placed in the way of attaining salvation; this was named *Hīnayāna* or the Little Vehicle. The other,—while idealising Buddha with all his attributes,—introduced innumerable gods and demons, and added to the list of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. This was styled the *Mahāyāna* or the Great Vehicle.

The *Hīnayāna* and the *Mahāyāna* schools of Philosophy then claimed Buddhism between themselves; and these, again, were subdivided,—the former into *Vaibhāṣika* and *Sautrāntika*, and the latter into *Mādhyamika* and *Yogācāra*. The *Mahāyāna* school, however, had the predominant voice; and the essence of its doctrine was “*Sarvam Anityam, Sarvam Ḍunyam, Sarvam Anātmam* (All is transitory, all is void, all is non-ego.)”*

Nāgārjuna, the founder and expounder of the *Mādhyamika* philosophy, flourished at the time of the Third Council. The end and aim of his

* D. T. Suzuki's *Mahāyāna Buddhism*, p. 44.

philosophy was to bring about a compromise, as it were, between the Āraṃaṇas and the Brāhmaṇas, and to find out a midway where the adherents of these two, could meet and shake hands with one another. "Nāgārjuna both by examples and theory, taught that Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Īiva, Tārā and other deities possessed the attributes which Brāhmaṇas had assigned to them, and therefore were the proper objects of worship for help in worldly concerns. * * * Since his time the Brāhmaṇas began to regard the Mahāyāna Āraṃaṇas as their brother religionists."*

The doctrine of the Mahācūnyam, as expounded by Nāgārjuna, as being the basis of the Mādhyamika philosophy, is to all intents and purposes but a reflection of the Great Brahma-Vāda, as inculcated in the Upaniṣads and the Gītā. And Dr. Kern is quite right when he observes that the Yogāchāras and the Mādhyamikas, the two true descendants of the Mahāyāna school, are but idealists in their own way. The former admits as reality nothing but Vijñāna, consciousness, and are in consequence, often designated Vijñāna-Vādins. But the Mādhyamikas are more sweeping in their pronouncements. They are absolute nihilists, carrying the theory of Name-and-Form to its extremes and denying all existence whatsoever, regarding the whole of the phenomenal world as a mere illusion. This nihilism of theirs may well be taken as the Buddhistic counterpart of the Scholastic Vedānta as taught by Āṇkara.†

After Nāgārjuna, and second only to him,

* Carat Chandra Dās's *Land of Snow*, p. 7.

† Dr. Kern's *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 127.

the chief expounder of the Mahāyāna philosophy was Vasubandhu. He was less wildly speculative than many of his predecessors and composed many commentaries, and was thus greatly successful in recasting, so to speak, the nihilism of the Mahāyāna school by giving it, as it were, an air of reality and tangibility. Thus Dr. Waddell says :—

“This intense mysticism of the Mahāyāna led, about the fifth century, to the importation into Buddhism of the pantheistic idea of the soul (ātman) and Yoga or the ecstatic union of the individual with the Universal Spirit—a doctrine which had been introduced into Hinduism by Patañjali.”*

The Yogāchāra School also, in its later development, received and assimilated some magic circles with mantras or spells about 700 A.D., and hence received the new appellation of Mantra-yāna.

But the Mahāyāna School did not stop there. Having once commenced the work of importation and assimilation, it went on with it, with all its zeal and vigour, and was before long almost a new thing. About the seventh century A.D. the development of the infatuating Tantrism, which practically verges on sorcery claiming a religious basis, attracted the notice of the Mahāyāna School, and ere long the idolatrous cult of ‘female energies’ was found grafted upon the theistic Mahāyāna and the Pantheistic mysticism of Yoga. And this Tāntrika phase of the Mahāyāna School reached its climax when it adopted, and assimilated with itself, the theory of the Kālachakra.

* Dr. L. A. Waddell's *Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 128.

Though laying no pretensions whatsoever to the consideration due to a philosophic system, this Kālachakra has an importance of its own as a doctrinal basis and deserves a passing notice here. It wants to establish a mysterious union between the terrible goddess Kālī of the Tāntrika system, and the Dhyānī Buddhas, nay, the Ādi-Buddha himself, of the Buddhistic system, and attempts to explain creation and the secret agencies of nature in the light of this union. In the tenth century, the Kālachakra system of the Mantrayāna School, as the result of further and further retrograde developments, passed into the system of the Vajrayāna or the thunderbolt-vehicle. This is the most depraved form, that the Buddhistic doctrine on its downward course of importation, assimilation and compromise, had ever assumed. According to this, the devotee may hope to attain the spiritual powers of siddhi—a stage admittedly far below Arhat-ship—with the joint aid of the supernatural Buddhas and the Ḍākas and the Ḍākinīs with their appropriate magic circles.*

As Dr. Kern rightly observes—"The doctrine of Buddhism in India from the eighth century downwards nearly coincides with the growing influence of Tantrism and Sorcery which stand to each other in the relation of theory to practice. The development of Tantrism is a feature that Buddhism and Hinduism in their later phases have in common."†

This is the history of Buddhism in India, as it rushed headlong towards superstition and decline. But a change, pregnant and comprehensive, was

* Dr. Waddell's *Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 152.

† Kern's *Manual*, p. 133.

soon to pass over it, making it bright and glorious again. Towards the latter part of the eighth century, Dharma Pāla I of the Pāla Dynasty, was occupying the masnad of Gauḍa. He was a Buddhist, and grieved to find his religion sunk in superstition and grossness. He made up his mind to have its downward course arrested, and the faith purged of all the impurities and unwelcome elements. His spirit was projected, as it were, into the minds of his successors, and systematic and earnest endeavours were made by the successive wearers of the crown to restore Buddhism to its former height and grandeur. And considering the galaxy of good and pious souls flourishing at the time of Dharma Pāla II, Mahī Pāla I and Naya Pāla who reigned from 1015 to 1060 A.D., we cannot but pronounce that their endeavours were largely crowned with success. The first and foremost amongst this group of great men was Dipaṅkara Ārijñāna, otherwise known as Aṭiṣa. He was at the helm of the Vikramçīlā monastery from 1035 A.D. to 1038 A.D. Other notable names are Rāmāi Paṇḍit, Hāḍi Siddha, Kamalā Kuçīla, Narendra Ārijñāna, and Dāna Rakṣita. Belonging to and professing the Tāntrika cult, they rose much above it and made themselves distinguished by their teachings and lives of piety, self-abnegation and self-renunciation. They were not, thus, to be ranked with the followers of the black Tantrism who made the enjoyment of material comforts their goal of life.

The irreligion and corruption which followed in the wake of the Tāntrika cult in its onward course, the latter taking the place of the spirit of its teachings and practices, permeated through and through the lives of both Hindus and Buddhists of the time, and deadened their

spiritual sense. A tide of reaction, in the case of Buddhism, had already set in, as we have seen, with Dharma Pāla I, towards the end of the eighth century. And before the eleventh century had come to its close, divisions were effected in the camp of the Tāntrika Buddhism, owing to a revival of the religious spirit by some of the greatest thinkers and men of the time. The principal divisions were—the way of Pravr̥tti, and the way of Nivr̥tti. The goal of life which the Pravr̥tti-mārgin (those who took to the path of Pravr̥tti,) desired to set before them, was emancipation attainable only through enjoyment, life being indissolubly linked with weal and woe. And they proceeded to collect authoritative works in support of their view, to appeal to the hearts of the masses and win them over to their side.

The goal of the Nivr̥tti-mārgin on the other hand was entire deliverance of the soul from the Pravr̥tti, which is constantly at work—the source of all our pains and sufferings,—and the subsequent attainment of the blissful state, called Nivr̥tti,—a complete annihilation or deadening of all the appetites and desires. Habitual abstraction of the mind from all pleasures and pains, will enable a man to know what Nivr̥tti is ; and Tapas and Dhyāna are set down as the means for the realization of this habitual abstraction. But the highest ideal that this class of Buddhists set before their mental eyes was the acquisition of the knowledge of the Great Unconditioned Void or Mahā-Çūnyam. It was the highest flight of the Mādhyamika philosophy, and the fountain-head of all ideals and inspirations to its followers. Once more, inspired and fired with zeal and enthusiasm, they set about to collect the cardinal doctrines of

the Mādhyamika School, and set them forth again in a more attractive and popular form. Amongst this class we find such names as Ārijñāna Dipaṅkara and Narendra Ārijñāna and others.

As stated above, these two mārḡas or ways were essentially different from one another, the former aiming at the realization of the unity of the Ādi-Buddha and Ādi-Prajñā (Puruṣa and Prakṛiti) through the love and enjoyment of the world ; and the latter, at the absorption of the soul in the Great Ānyam through purity, love and renunciation.

It was in Gauḍa that both these systems of theology and religion first germinated and developed. Only a few years ago Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Āstṛi came across several ancient Bengali manuscripts in Nepal, dating from eight to nine hundred years back : and on examination these were found to belong to the Pravṛtti-Mārḡa School, recording the development of its thoughts and ideas in their several stages.

When Buddhism had practically vanished from this country, the pernicious system propounded by the Pravṛtti Mārḡa lingered in the Sahajīā cult of the Vaiṣṇavas and did incalculable mischief to that society. The influence which these two schools of thought exercised upon the minds of all sections of the community was considerable. Advocating the fullest enjoyment of life the Pravṛtti Mārḡa system soon became a powerful instrument of vice in the hands of many inculcating the noxious practices of the Sahajīā cult. The Nivṛtti-mārḡa system was a no less potent factor in moulding and regulating the thoughts of

society, as is evidenced by a critical study of the *Āṇya-Purāṇa* and *Dharma-Maṅgala* literature and several other Oriya manuscripts, recently brought to light in some of the backward villages of Mayūrabhaṅja. Remnants of its former influence are still discernible in the manners and customs of the Bāthuri tribe and the Mahimā-dharmin sect of Mayūrabhaṅja.

What we aim at in this chapter is to discuss briefly the influence which the Nivṛitti-Mārga once exercised upon the minds of the country and the part it played in the history and growth of a comparative religion. The writings extant on the subject are, however, very frequently enveloped in a peculiar mysticism. They ascribe, for instance, to Ārijāna, Rāmāi Paṇḍit and the other sages of the time, we have referred to above, all sorts of miracles and supernatural feats. Whatever may be the value of these assertions, it is at any rate true that the goal of life they aimed at and taught others to aim at, was the attainment of *Bambha Nibbāna* which really refers to the Buddhistic idea of Salvation.*

It may not be out of place to note in passing that the reputation and influence of Atiṣa extended over the whole of lower Bengal and from there up to Bhoṭa (Tibet). The fame of Rāmāi Paṇḍit spread over the whole of Rāḍha† and Hāḍi Siddha's name exercised for long a magic influence in the eastern provinces of Bengal.

It has been proved beyond all shadow of a

*. Vide Rāmāi Paṇḍit's *Cunypurāṇa* published by the Bangiya Sāhitya Parisad, 1909.

† Mayurabhanja, the subject-matter of the present treatise is situated close to Rāḍha. Nay, to the people of Orissa, Mayurabhanja itself is known as Rāḍha.

doubt by Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Ṣāstri, that the Dharma cult which even now counts amongst its followers a good many people of the lower classes of Bengal, was founded and inaugurated by Rāmāi Paṇḍit. We shall try to show later on that the result of the endeavours made by the Pāla Kings to improve the depraved religious tone of the country and more especially the personal influence of Rāmāi Paṇḍit in this direction, were not confined within the limits of Mayūrabhaṇja, but pervaded the whole of Orissa. M. M. Ṣāstri has clearly shown that the central force of Rāmāi Paṇḍit's works was the doctrine of the Mahā-Ṣūnyam or the Great Void, which is again the heart and soul of the Mādhyamika philosophy. The bright and sparkling description or Dhyāna of Dharma in which he indulges, is itself a strong and clear proof of this. Nowhere in the whole range of Hindu scriptures do we come across, a more luminous passage than the one in which he describes the Ṣūnyam. And we cannot do better than quote a few lines from it :—

“यस्यान्तीनादिमध्यो न च करचरणौ नास्तिकायो निर्नादं ।
नाकारो नैव रूपं न च भयमरणे नास्ति जन्मनि यस्य ।
योगीन्द्रज्ञानगम्यं सकलदलगतं सर्व्वलीकैकनाथं ।
भक्तानां कामपूरं सुरनरवरन्दं चित्तयेत् शून्यमूर्त्तिम् ।”

“He who has neither a beginning nor an end, nor a middle ; who has, further, neither hands nor feet, neither body nor voice ; neither form nor image ; and who is afraid neither of birth nor death :—He who is knowable only by the greatest of the Yogis, sages ; who underlies and upholds all classes of men ; who is the sole lord of all the worlds (*i.e.* the whole creation) ;

who brings about the realizations of the desires of his devotees, and confers boons upon gods and men alike. Devoid of all forms and figures as the void itself, he is to be meditated upon."

We also find a similar passage in his Çūnya-Purāṇa :—

“शून्यरूपं निराकारं सहस्रविघ्ननाशनम् ।
सर्वपरः परो देव तस्मात्त्वं वरदो भव ॥”

“Thou art destitute of all forms and images, and art the destroyer of all perils and disasters ; thou art above everything and the god of gods. Hence mayest thou be pleased to confer boons upon us.”

Svayambhū-Purāṇa of Nepal is a Buddhistic work of wide renown and some merit. Amongst its prefatory Çloka we find the following, the underlying idea of which is a distinct echo of that conveyed in the above quotations :—

“नमो बुद्धाय धर्माय सत्त्वरूपाय वै नमः ।
स्वयम्भू वै विद्यच्छान्त (?) भानवे धर्मधातवे ॥
अस्ति नास्ति स्वरूपाय ज्ञानरूपस्वरूपिणे ।
शून्यरूपस्वरूपाय नामरूपाय वै नमः ॥”

“All obeisance to thee who art Buddha, Dharma, and Saṅgha personified and who art self-existent, and who art in Çūnya, the sun itself—all serene and sublime ; and the essence of all religion. All obeisance to thee who art both existent and non-existent, and also omniscient ; and whose form is Çūnya and who art but one and the same with the Name itself.”

But of all the existing Buddhistic writings of the Mahāyāna School, by far the most important is *Prajñā-pāramitā*. This is to the Buddhists what *Vedās* are to the Brāhmaṇas. *Prajñā-Pāramitā*, as mentioned above, is a *Sūtra* *Çāstra* of the Mahāyāna School, and is mainly devoted to an elaboration of the doctrine of *Çūnyatā*. In the chapter on Buddhistic Philosophy in his celebrated work of *Sarvadarçana-Saṁgraha*, the renowned Mādhavāchārya has dwelt at some length upon the theory of the *Çūnya*. The following is a quotation from it :—

“अस्ति नास्ति तदुभयानुभयचतुष्कीटिविनिर्मुक्तं शून्यरूपं” इत्यादि ।

“The ultimate principle, then, is a void emanipated from four alternatives—from reality from unreality, from both reality and unreality combined, and from neither reality nor unreality.”*

But in spite of all this, Buddhism, otherwise known as *Sad-Dharma*, gradually lost its hold upon the minds of the cultured classes of Bengal as M. M. Haraprasād *Çāstri* has shown. In its deteriorated form it merely retained a lodgment in the minds of the superstitious priests of the *Dharma* and *Çitalā* cults and their numerous followers, and there it still lurks.

Dr. Kern also writes to this effect :—“After the invasion of the country by the Mahomedans in A. D. 1200, the monasteries of Odantapura and Vikrama-*Çilā* were destroyed, and the monks were killed or fled to other countries. The learned *Çākya-çrī* went to Orissa and afterwards to Tibet.”

* *Sarva-Darçana-Saṁgraha*, translated by E. B. Cowell and A. E. Gough, p. 22—23.

But Buddhism also found a hiding-place, as it were, in the Deccan, as we are told by the same author.—“Many emigrants from Magadha rejoined their brethren in the South and founded colleges on a modest scale, in Vijayanagara, Kaliṅga, and Koṅkana.”*

Dr. Kern is one of the best authorities on the history of Buddhism. The above quotations from his “Manual” establish it beyond doubt that after the Universities of Nālandā and Vikrama-çilā were destroyed, and the wave of Muhammadan conquest had swept past Magadha and Gauḍa, the surviving ministers of Buddhism migrated to Utkala and there built new monasteries. And these citadels, in the wildernesses of Orissa, not only acted as a bar to arrest the tide of extinction, but largely helped the growth and gradual expansion of the religion.

The zeal and enthusiasm of these emigrants did not end with the construction of monasteries. Right earnestly did they devote themselves to a study of both the ancient and modern scriptures of the faith, and fought hard and long against the tide of extinction that threatened to engulf them. Even when the Tibetan pilgrim, Buddha Gupta Tathāgata Nātha, visited Utkala towards the latter half of the 17th century, he found old chaityas, stūpas and various other relics of the faith which once had so strong a hold upon the minds of the people residing there. He also met some living priests of the Dharma Cult.

Under these circumstances, we fully hoped we should find sufficient materials to prove the enormous influence that this religion once

* *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 134.

exercised upon the minds of the people in Utkala. And indeed it affords us no little satisfaction to report that within a short time and without much trouble we came across very many evidences of the sway once exercised by the various sects of Buddhism in Mayūrabhañja. In the forest tracts adjacent to Baḍasāi and Kiching in Mayūrabhañja we have discovered several Oriya manuscripts shedding a flood of light upon the later phases of Buddhism. Both from what we are able to glean from these manuscripts, and as the result of our ethnological researches, we have come to the irresistible conclusion that the influence of the Dharma Cult and the later phases of Buddhism still lingers in the hearts, and regulates the lives, of the people of this place. Unconsciously, as if instinctively, they follow the manners and customs and observe the rites and ceremonies that gathered round the Mahāyāna School in the days of its decline.

(b) ETHNOGRAPHIC DISCOVERY.

It has already been remarked in connection with the Buddhistic relics discovered in the village of Baḍasāi, that they owed their preservation from absolute destruction and oblivion entirely to the commendable zeal and care of the Bāthuri tribe. This tribe, which is known in Mayūrabhañja as Bāthuri, has, in Keonjhar and the remaining Gaḍjāt States, received two other appellations, *viz.*, Bāhuri or Bāuri.

Balarāma-dāsa, in his commentary on Gaṇeṣa-vibhūti, entitled Siddhānta-ḍambara,* written

* A MS. of this work has been discovered in Badsai.

in the 16th century, thus refers to the Bāthuri tribe :—

“निराकार दल्लिणरु विप्र होए जात ।
उत्तर अङ्गरु ज्ञान गोपाल सम्भूत ॥ १७
वदन अलरे बिश्वामिव सुनि कहि ।
ताहाङ्गु अङ्गरे वाउरि जात होइ ॥ १८ * * *
विश्वामिव जेष्ठ सुत पुत्र ह्वादे जान ।
सेइठि वाउरि अनन्तकाष्ठी नाम ॥ २१
श्रीरथाख्या दास इति आचार्य अच्यन्ति ।
वाजपेय दीवे इति दासे बोलावन्ति ॥ २२
पाणि मिश्र पति वीजि सात जाति जान ।
अज्ञ चेतनी कृन्ति हेतु करि मान ॥ २३
वसिष्ठ अङ्गरु बाबु विप्रकुल एहि ।
मूत्र ए वलिण एहि नाम गुटी कहि ॥ २४ * *
तारतङ्ग तेर सुत ह्वाइल जनम ।
ताहार पत्नीर नाम पद्यालया जान ॥ २५
कनिष्ठ पत्नीरे शिव उर्लेशी तार नाम ।
गन्धकेशी वलिण तार दुतिथ भार्या जान ॥ २६
वायुरेखा वलिण से चतुर्थक कहि ।
वार सुत जम्मा हेलि चारि पत्नी तंहि ॥ २७
नाम ताहाङ्गर एवे कहिअछि शुण ।
संशय लागिल मोते कहिवा आपन ॥ २८ * * * * ।

एवे वाउरि वार पुत्र नाम कहिवा । पद्यालयापुत्र दुलि वाउरि अटन्ति ।
ब्राह्मणसङ्गे वेद पढ़ु यान्ति । ब्राह्मण जेष्ठ वाउरि कनिष्ठ । ए पढ़ु थिलि राजा
प्रतापरुद्रङ्ग ठारु गोप्य करि रखिअच्छन्ति । * * * * पद्यालया
पुत्र वायीकाष्ठी परमानन्द भोइ राधो शासमल । गीत—

उर्लेशीर तिन पुत्र अठई प्रमाण ।
कुशसम्बा बोलि तार जेष्ठ पुत्र नाम ॥
विधुकुश बोलि तार कनिष्ठ पुत्र कहि ।
उर्लेशकुश बोलि तार तिन पुत्र कहि ॥
ए तिन वाउरि, काजा गन्ध ॥
केशिठारु तिन सुत ह्वादे जान ॥
एके एके कहिदेवा ताहाङ्गर नाम ।
जेष्ठपुत्र प्रयशा वलिण नाम कहि ।

उद्यम प्रतिबलिटी कनिष्ठ पुत्र कहि ॥
 साधुधम बलि तिन सुतर जे नाम ।
 बाधति बलिण नाम अति अनुपाम ॥
 बायुरेखा तिन सुत नाम देवा कहि ।
 जयसर्वा बोलि जेष्ठ सुतटी अटइ ॥
 इन्दुसर्वा बोलि नाम कनिष्ठ नन्दन ।
 महावीर्यकेतु बोलि एहि ठारु गुण ॥
 ए तिन नन्दन जे श्वर अटलि ।
 सत्य कहुअच्छि गुण उमार सन्तति ॥
 बार जाति बाउरि जे एहि प्रतिरोध ।
 भिन्न भिन्न करि एहा जाति गोत्र शोध ॥

दुलि बाउरि, काहल, अजय काहल, गुरु काहल, ऐरि, बाउरि, श्वर,
 जयाङ्ग, जाडु, भाडु, गुरु, तुधन । * * गीत—

गणेश बौडले प्रभु सीते आज्ञा छउ ।
 ए चारि दुहिता जात होले कांड ॥
 पद्मालया जाहा नाम अमूल्यटी सेहि ।
 निराकार दक्षिण अङ्गक जात होइ ॥
 दुतिय भार्या चित उर्वशी ता नाम ।
 गन्धकेशी बोलिण ताहार दासी जान ॥
 बायुरेखा अटइ गन्धकेशी दासी ।
 ए तिन छे पद्मालया दासी जे अटलि ॥
 एवे कहियिलु बेणी पाठक लक्षण ।
 सावधान होइ गुण उमार नन्दन ॥
 पद्मालया तिन पुत्र जेष्ठ से प्रमाण ।
 विष्णुङ्क सङ्गते से हुयनि सम्भाषण ॥
 सङ्गामुर मारि प्रभु सङ्ग ताहु दिने ।
 पञ्चजन सङ्ग तुम्ह सम्भाल बौडले ॥
 आउ नव भाइ अंश कुइ न जुगाइ ।
 विचारि जानिलेटी संशय बैला सेहि" ॥ (१२ स अध्याय)

Whatever may otherwise be the value of these lines, they possess at least some historical interest. From them we obtain glimpses into the origin of the Bāthuris or Bāuris. Similar stories about origins are also to be met with in the

Purāṇas,—but the story of Siddhānta-ḍambara is not corroborated by any Paurāṇika work whether Hindu or Buddhistic. In all probability it is either a traditional history of the tribe, passing for generations from mouth to mouth, and given a tangible literary shape by the poet,—or based upon materials drawn from some other work existing at the time, but now either buried in oblivion or quite extinct.

The author has traced this tribe back to the fountain-head of all vitality and creation. He says :—From the right side of the Nirākāra sprang the Vipras into existence and from his mouth Viçvāmitra ; and from this Viçvāmitra the Bāuris came into being. The Vipras were, in their turn, divided into seven classes, *e.g.*, Çrī, Ratha, Dāsa, Miçra, Āchārya, Pāni and Pati. All these are mentioned as sons of Vaçiṣṭha. From the right side of the Nirākāra also sprang, in full bloom, the goddess, Padmālayā, who was married to Viçvāmitra. The fruit of this union was a son, named Ananta-kāṇḍi Bāuri, and afterwards Duli Bāuri. It is also said that Duli Bāuri and his descendants studied the Vedas with the Brāhmaṇas, who were regarded as their elder brothers. Bāyokāṇḍi, Paramānanda Bhoi, and Rādhosāsmala—the three descendants of Padmālayā—are the Duli Bāuris. Chitrorvaçi was the second wife of Viçvāmitra, by whom he had three sons, *viz.*, Kuçasarvā, Vidhukuça and Urbakuça, from whom the Bāuris are descended. Viçvāmitra married another wife, *viz.* Gandhakeçi, who, too, blessed him with three sons—Prayaçā, Udyama and Sādhudharma ; and these came to be known as Bāghutis. Viçvāmitra had yet another consort in Vāyurekhā, who also was the mother of the same number of sons. They were named Jayasarvā,

Vijaya-Sarvā and Vijāya-ketu, and founded the Çavara tribe. These four castes, *viz.*, Duli Bāuri, Bāuri, Bāghuti and Çavara, came afterwards to be divided into twelve sub-castes. Although no Hindu or Buddhistic scripture is available to support the theory of the origin of the Çavara, in its entirety, yet it may be recorded here that in the Aitareya Brāmaṇa of the Rkveda, the Çavaras are described as descendants of the sage Viçvāmitra. Hence we are of opinion that the description of Siddhānta-ḍambara is not entirely wanting in historical importance.

While describing the origin of the Bāuris, the author of Sidhānta-ḍambara has incidentally touched upon a very important fact. He says:—Of the three sons of Padmālayā the eldest had once a friendly meeting with Viṣṇu, who killed Saṅkhāśura and gave him the Saṅkha. In a similar way five of the descendants of the same goddess by these sons received various friendly favours from Viṣṇu, while the nine remaining sons of Viçvāmitra by his three other wives had not even been favoured with the privilege of touching Viṣṇu's person.

We scarcely think it would be very wide of the mark to infer from this that the word Saṅkha here means nothing but a Buddhistic Saṅgha. In this interpretation of Saṅkha as Saṅgha, we are supported by the Çūnya-Purāṇa, in which Saṅkha is very frequently used for Saṅgha. The common people in their ignorance of the teachings of Buddhism and its terminology, either misspelt Saṅgha as Saṅkha, or mistook Saṅkha for Saṅgha which really means a congregation of Buddhistic monks. The only probable interpretation of Viṣṇu's killing Saṅkhāśura and giving the Saṅkha to Padmālayā's son

is that the eldest member of the Bāuri community became a Saṅghādhipa, *i.e.*, chief of a Buddhistic fraternity, after destroying the enemies of the Saṅgha. Thus, we believe, it was that the sons of Padmālayā and their descendants obtained admittance to the fold of the Buddhistic Saṅgha, while the remaining sons of Viṣvāmitra by his other wives, with their descendants, were thrown into the shade, and occupied an inferior position in society, merely because they could obtain no such admittance, or, in other words, had not themselves converted to Buddhism.

The author of Siddhānta-ḍambara makes this clear in the following lines :—

“पद्मालयापुत्र दुर्लभ वाचरि षट्पत्ति ब्राह्मण सङ्गे वेद पदं धानि । ब्राह्मण ज्ञाष्ट
वाचरि क्षत्रिष्ठ । ए पदं खिले राजा प्रतापरुद्र इह ठान् गोप्य करि
रखि अञ्चन्ति ।”

“Duli Bāuri was the Padmālayā's descendant ; he would read the Vedas with Brāhmaṇa. The Brāhmaṇa was older than he. The fact of the Bāuri studying the Vedas was kept concealed from King Pratāparudra.”

Hence it is evident that the Bāuris were regarded as equal in rank with the Brāhmaṇas and that they observed the rites and followed the observances of Buddhism until the time of King Pratāparudra Deva of Orissa.

We learn from Mr. Sterling's *Orissa* that although the followers of Buddhism were at first received with form and treated with marked consideration by Pratāparudra Deva, they were afterwards persecuted by his court. Now, reading the history of Utkala together with that of Siddhānta-ḍambara, one must accept, as the only

natural conclusion, our belief that it was the dread of persecution by the king that compelled the Buddhist priests of the Bāuri caste to seek shelter in concealment. And to evade these persecutions and avoid incurring the displeasure and disfavour of the Brāhmaṇas, they played the hypocrite by adopting the religious observances and practices of the latter. Further, in order completely to hoodwink these vigilant dragons of the Brāhmanic faith they substituted the names of Hindu gods and goddesses for those of their own. Notwithstanding all this apparent hypocrisy, however, they sincerely believed that Buddha was in reality an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu, and as such they felt justified in substituting the name of Viṣṇu for his.—Even then, Çūnyavāda was the highest goal of their religious aspirations, and they consigned Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Çiva—their adopted gods—to inferior positions. But placed as they were, under ban and anathema by the king and the leaders of society, their social status was no higher than that of the Domas and the Doma Paṇḍits of Bengal who professed the Dharma cult.

We find the following lines in Siddhānta-ḍambara :—

“कलियुगे न कुडव । बाउरि कुडले सकल पातक चय हव
बोलि विणमाया करि गोप्य कीरि रखि अछलि ।
गुन हे गणेश वड गहनए गुप्त करि दुइवु ।
एथ सकाशरु बाउरि गार काटिले ब्राह्मण निमाइ पारलि नहि । सुध्रौ
पातक चय हव बोलि शायकु मानियानि ।” (१२ अः)

“They are not to be touched in the Kaliyuga. But a touch of their bodies will extirpate all the sins. Hence Viṣṇu, through his māyā, has kept them in concealment.”

Here, in the same breath, the author both

decries and extols the Bāuris. Probably to complete their disguise and help them to conceal themselves, he says the Bāuris are unworthy of being touched. Yet in the next line he speaks of them in such high terms as can fall only from the lips of one who has himself been either a staunch believer in Buddhism or a Bāuri Paṇḍit like so many Doma Paṇḍits of Bengal. The positions of these two classes of Paṇḍits were almost identical, although differing widely in their religious systems. Dharma occupied the highest place in the pantheon of the Doma Paṇḍits; while, as we learn from Siddhānta-ḍambara, the Bāuris, not unlike the Mahāyānist of yore, held Mahācūṇyatā or Cūṇya-Brahman as the sole cause of the entire universe. We obtain sufficient glimpses of the Cūṇyavāda from the writings of the votaries of the different sects and sub-sects that sprang from latter-day Buddhism.

We have seen before that in the 16th century, up to the time of Rājā Pratāparudra of Utkala, Buddhism was the prevailing creed of Orissa. Although, owing to persecutions at the hands of the king, its influence began subsequently to wane, Buddhism was never wholly extirpated from the province. The crusade carried on against its followers, no doubt, compelled them to take refuge in the impregnable hilly parts of the country. Speaking of Mukunda Deva, the last independent King of Orissa, whose dominions extended from Triveṇī in the North to Ganjam in the South, *Pagsam Jon-Zan*, a Tibetan work written by Sampo Khampa, states that this King favoured Buddhism, and Buddhists were found in large numbers residing in his territories. We quote from it the following :—

“Mukunda Deva (Dharma-Rāja) King of

Otivisa (Orissa) who favoured Buddhism, became powerful. His power extended up to Magadha. He, too, did some service to the cause of Buddhism."

In Siddhānta-dāmbara the Bāuri is mentioned as one of the nine classes of Brāhmaṇas, although, it is added, he was, in the time of the author, regarded as 'unworthy of being touched.' Now the question is whether as stated by the author of Siddhānta-dāmbara the present Bāthuris are in any way connected with the Brāhmaṇas. To this from the various materials that we were able to glean in the course of our ethnological survey in Mayūrabhaṇja, we are in a position to reply that the Bāthuri tribe does really belong to the Aryan race. Ample proofs of this are scattered all over the country. To select at random from amongst the long list of such proofs, the fine specimens of architecture in the impregnable Simlipāla hills of Mayūrabhaṇja, the ancient stone temple named Āthāra-deula, and similar other buildings, and the great stone fort of Joshipur or Daspur are unmistakable indications of their past culture and civilization, and go far in establishing their Aryan connection. It was only a few years back that this people were said to occupy the exalted positions of rulers, ministers and commanders. Bāthuris themselves believe that the Aryan blood runs in their veins; and are strongly convinced that they are in all respects on a par with the Brāhmaṇas. Even now they are found wearing the sacred thread; and like the Brahmins they observe the 'ten days' mourning' and perform the *ṣrādh* ceremony on the eleventh day. On the day of the *ṣrādh*, Brāhmaṇas and Vaiṣṇavas dine in the house of the performer of the ceremony. The greatest personage of this tribe is

now-a-days honoured with the title of Mahāpātra. On the occasion of the marriage of a son or a daughter, the Bāthuri house-holder has to give away a piece of cloth, ten betel-nuts and one hundred betels, as marks of honour to the Mahāpātra. And so great is the honour that he enjoys among his own people that on every festive occasion his approval has first of all to be sought and obtained. The Mahāpātra family of Mayūra-bhañja proper is believed to have descended from the eldest branch and those of Ādipur and Dasapur from the youngest. Although occupying an inferior position in society, they themselves jealously regard their tribal self-respect and family prestige. No true Bāthuri will ever be induced to partake of the food cooked even by a Brāhmaṇa. If ever any member of their society in any way violates their social rules or is found to have connection with any woman of any other caste, he suffers the extreme penalty of excommunication. They offer their religious homage to Dharmarāja, Jagannātha* (Baḍam), Kinchakeçvari and Bāuri Thākuraṇī.

No writer has yet fully dwelt upon the ethnology of this ancient people. We therefore propose giving here rather a detailed account of their manners and customs. As has been already observed the Mahāpātras are the foremost in rank among the Bāthuris. Their ancestors were the rulers of Simlipāla, where remnants of their past glory may still be seen. Of these we have already spoken. Branches of this line are now living in Bāmuria, Joshipur or Dasa-

* To the Buddhists of Nepal Dharmarāja and Jagannātha are only other names of Buddha.

pur and Ādipurgarh. From Māhapātra Sacchidānanda Dāsa of Ādipurgarh we have learnt that his ancestor of the fourteenth remove with his two brothers left his ancestral home at Jamunākula among the hills of Simlipāla, owing to the ravages of tigers. The eldest, who was the ruler of the state of Simlipāla removed to Bāmuria near Khunta Karkachia in Bhañjabhūma. The second and the third (youngest) migrated respectively to Ādipurgarh and Daspurgarh. Their descendants are still living in those places.

Another branch of the Bāthuri zamindars is to be found at Karañjiāgarh. This family is related to the Mahāpātras spoken of above, though sprung from a different stock.

We have heard both from Mahāpātra Sacchidānanda and his Vyavahartā (counsellor) Ananta Dāsa the following story of creation :—

Çūnya Mahāprabhu alone existed before creation. From Him sprang Vedamātā, of whom were born the fifty-six crores of beings and the world. They added that this account of the creation was to be found in numerous manuscripts of Simlipāla. Of these they themselves once possessed a large number, all of which had, however, been destroyed by fire. They also furnished us with an account of the origin of their own tribe. The following is the gist of what they said. In the beginning there was nothing but Çūnya; and from the arm (bāhu) of Çūnya Mahāprabhu sprang into existence the founder of their tribe. And it was for this (*i.e.*, their origin from the bāhu or arm of the creator) that the tribe came to be known as Bāhuri or Bāthuri. In course of time this

tribe began to branch off into a large number of *Khilis*, i.e., families, such as :—

Kuṣamālīā,	Rānāsiyā,
Biṇāla,	Jhariāl,
Purihāra,	Rāmagadīa,
Modei,	Bāgjadīā,
Dāsa,	Paniyādīyā,
Giri,	Bārsāliya,
Kapnūdia,	Mushāpāliyā,
Dhala,	Taṇḍakhāliyābiṇāla,
Čūliya,	Rāut,
Śimadaṇkiyā,	Bāgchampiāpātra,
Senāpati,	Sundarghariāpātra,
Pāṭaliyā,	Jāmuṇḍiā,
Pātra,	Danāyik,
Kumār (Kuṇar),	Rupjitmarāī,
Khaṇḍei,	Mṛḍiyā,
Khālpāriyā,	Bāragāñiyā,
Čaṅkhiyāl,	Gāmbhāriya,
Māṇika,	Kalpādīyā,
Kānachikaniyā,	Kolāpādīyā,
Māṭiyān,	Rāi-ṭhāñiyā,
Jariyāl,	Nimbāl,
Maigadabiṇāla,	Pichhaliyā,
Khāṭuā,	Khejarpāṭiyā.

Each khili is regarded as one integral family, no nuptial alliance being allowed between members of one and the same khili. But such an alliance between members of different khilis is not prohibited. On the contrary they are very liberal on this point. One may even marry the daughter of his mother's own brother. Each of the khilis has again its gradations of rank, consisting of four orders, viz., 1, Mahāpātras, 2, Nāyakas ; 3, Pāiks ; and 4, Muliyās, or the labouring class. They have four *gotras*, viz., Parāṇara, Nāgaṇa, Kāṇyapa, and Pārdhyā. Kuṣamāliyas and Biṇālas

occupy the foremost rank among the khilis ; Khālpāriyas and the rest are all below them. Kuṣamāliyas are reported to be descendants of Rāmapāla or Rāma Rājā of Simlipāla. From Siddhānta-ḍambara we learn that from the Formless sprang Viṣvāmitra from whom there descended Kuṣasarbā, Bidhukuṣa, and Aurbakuṣa. These latter are looked up to as having been the three Kuṣas or the earliest known progenitors of the Bāthuri tribe. The Kuṣamāliyās of Bāmuriyā, Ādipur and Daspur also claim descents from Kuṣa.

Let us next turn our attention to the customs of the Bāthuris. Various ceremonies are gone through to solemnise the naivety of their children. Just on the seventh day after birth the body of the babe is besmeared with an unguent, consisting of ground turmeric and mustard oil, and bathed in water : on the ninth day it is shaved, bathed and purified. Then on the twenty-first day the child is given a name (which corresponds to being "christened") and wrapped in a new piece of cloth. And on this day the family preceptor and Vaisṇavas are feasted, a horoscope of the child is cast by an astrologer, and worship is offered to Kalaṣa, Ganeṣa and the tutelary deities of the ten directions. In the tenth or eleventh month the Anna-prāṣana ceremony (when the child for the *first* time in its life takes rice and other solid food) is celebrated. Fresh cooking utensils and brand-new pieces of cloth are distributed and friends and relatives feasted on the occasion. Then several years are allowed to elapse, but when the boy comes to be seven or eight years old, he has to pass through a ceremony which is known as Kaṇabedha, *i.e.*, the piercing of the ears. Again, on reaching the age of ten or eleven, his

period of study commences, but does not continue long. The marriage ceremony is generally celebrated in the twelfth or the fourteenth year, the ceremony of *Upāyana* or conferring the sacred thread, taking place immediately before wedlock. Girls are generally bestowed in marriage between the tenth and the twelfth year, though cases are not rare when they are married a little earlier or later. When both the parties close with the terms of marriage, they enter into what may be called an agreement a *lekhāpatra*, equally binding upon both of them, to the effect—that if either of them fails or declines to give his son or daughter in marriage on the day appointed, the bond is forfeited to the other and the defaulter becomes liable to the payment of a certain fine, also specified in the contract as a penalty. After this, and in order solemnly to ratify the terms of the agreement, a peculiar ceremony, known among them as ‘eating rice’, is observed. It consists in the fathers of the bridegroom and the bride giving each other a handful of rice and swearing that if either thereafter decline to give his son or daughter, as the case may be, in marriage to the daughter or son of the other, as agreed upon, he will have not only to pay the fine to the State but be liable to excommunication. If circumstances do not permit the father of the bride to celebrate the marriage in his own house, he first despatches a goat and three *khaṇḍiā* (thirty seers) of rice, for a feast of which both parties are to partake, to the bridegroom’s house and, then, accompanies his daughter there. The *Padhariyā*,* as

* The *padhariyas* have their houses in Daspur, Karanjā, Mamuria, Noāgaon, Cilakorhi, Sardā and Vis-puri. Those of Adipur have become extinct. Their duties have now devolved upon the Brāhmanas.

the priest of the Bāthuris is styled, has to recite the nuptial *mantras*, and both the bride and the bridegroom wear on the occasion cloths which are tinged with turmeric. But before the couple are finally united in wedlock, yet another ceremony, in the form of an episode, has to be performed. It is what is called by them “*guā-paitā*”—conferring the sacred thread, with a betel-nut, first upon the bridegroom and then the bride. Here the outward manifestation of the nuptial tie is a thread with some mango-leaves fastened to it, which is tied by the priest round the wrists of both the husband and the wife. When the ceremony is over the happy couple play with conch-shells. After that the bridegroom cracks his betel-nut of the ‘*guāpaitā*’ to pieces and offers a piece to his wife and himself begins to chew another. Then they put on new clothes and go to the house of the former. Here married women perform the ceremony of ‘*varaṇa*,’ i.e., they bless and welcome the newly married pair and play various practical jokes upon them. A few days after this the friends and relatives are again invited to a feast in which rice touched by the bride is distributed amongst the guests. This is perhaps the most important feature of the whole marriage ceremony. It is only after this has been done that the bride is really looked upon as a member of her husband’s family; but thereby a restriction is also put upon her: she will never more be allowed to cook food in the house of her father. After she has become a woman she is not allowed to touch any food or drink for seven consecutive days; on the eighth day she takes a bath, offers worship to the gods and becomes thenceforward entitled to a place in her husband’s bed. In the fifth month of her pregnancy the *sādhā* is performed and

in the seventh month what is known as *kārya bandha*.

There was also a peculiarity in their manner of disposing of the dead. When an aged person died, he or she was consigned to the flames ; but when the deceased was young, it was the practice to bury the body. The obsequies observed on the two occasions were also different. Before the old man was placed on the funeral pyre, he was covered with a new piece of cloth, a *tulasi* plant was tied round his neck and gold and cows were given away. Ten days were set down as the period of mourning. The chief mourner, whose duty it was to set fire to the pile, and the other relatives of the deceased, were not to touch fish or meat during this period ; and it was more particularly enjoined upon the former to have a pure body and a pure mind during this time. He had, besides, on each of these days of mourning to offer as oblations to the manes of the departed, a few sticks and some fried paddy. On the 10th day all the male members of the deceased man's family had to be shaved, the barber being allowed to take away the cloth of the chief mourner. On the 11th day *Vaiṣṇavas* were feasted with curd and fried rice, and were each given some of the latter uncooked. On the 12th day, to bring the ceremony to a close, the friends and relatives of the dead were fed, and cloths and other presents made to the more respectable guests as marks of honour.

It is alleged by the *Bhāthuri Mahāpātras* that it was their ancestors that brought the *Bhañja-Rāja* family from the west and helped them in establishing themselves in the place of the *Virāṭa* family. Formerly there were twenty-two zaminders or *sāmantas* under the *Bhañja-*

Rāja. Four of these were Bāthuris, *viz.*, the zamindars of Simlipāla, Ādipur, Daspur and Karañjia ; and they were all honoured with the title of Mahāpātra. They were also each presented by the Bhañja Rājās, with a flag, a silver umbrella and a *chāmara*—which they used to display on festive occasions. But all these are now gone, while the families are now trembling on the verge of poverty and ruin, being over head and ears in debt. The poor Bāthuris dragging on their miserable existences in the hills have fallen so low that they look no better than the Kols, the Santāls and other aboriginal tribes. In some places they are even found to observe the rites and manners of the latter ; for instance, they eat hāñdiās, domesticate cocks and hens and marry widows. It is for this, we think, that they are regarded by some as descendants of the original non-Aryan inhabitants of the place,* although in reality descended from the ancient Aryan stock. The truth of this would become evident if the appearance and nature of the members of the higher families of the Bāthuri tribe were carefully examined. For the information of the public we give below a representative picture of each of the Daspur and Karañjia families.

Many Bāthuris live also in Keonjhar. They say that in bygone days they exercised a great influence over all the parts of Orissa. Their degeneration and decline commenced in the time of Rājā Pratāparudra. It has been shewn above by extracts from Siddhānta-ḍambara, written four hundred years ago, that in ancient times they and the Brāhmaṇas were upon a foot-

* H. H. Risley's Tribes and Castes of Bengal, Vol. I.

ing of equality. Balarāma Dāsa,* the author of the work, says that they used to study the Vedas side by side with the Brāhmaṇas. Since the time of Pratāparudra they have come to be regarded as 'gupta' (kripto, veiled) and unworthy of being touched. Yet they are believed to be in the good books of Viṣṇu or Buddha.

The story of Creation by Ṣūnya Mahāprabhu and Vedamātā, as narrated by the Bāthuris, closely resembles that told by the Buddhists of the Mahāyāna School. In the Svayambhū Purāṇa of the Buddhists of Nepal, Ṣūnya Mahāprabhu has been given the name of Svayambhu or Adī Buddha, and Vedamātā of Ādimātā Dharma or Prajñā. In Siddhānta-ḍambara the *vīja-mantra* of the Bāthuris is said to be “ॐ शून्यब्रह्मणे नमः” (Om, salutation to Ṣūnya-Brahman). It need hardly be pointed out that this is exactly the *vīja mantra* of the Buddhists of the Mahāyāna School also. Not only this *vīja-mantra* but the *gāyatrī* of the Bāthuris is also to be found in Siddhānta-ḍambara. It runs as follows :—

“ॐ सिद्धदेवः सिद्धधर्मः वरेण्यमस्य धीमही ।

मर्गदेवो धीयो यो न सिद्धध्रुवो प्रचोदयात् ॥ ” (Chap. XII)

“Om, let us meditate upon Him, who is self-revealed and self-sustained, who is Siddhadhruba (*i.e.* “the soul of Siddhavikṣu-saṅgha), who controls and directs our understanding, and who is the only object of adoration by all this animate and inanimate world.”

It has been gathered from the lips of an aged *padhariyā* of the Bāthuris that in good old days *gāyatrī* was taken and observed by the great and

* A detailed account of Balarama Dāsa and the Buddhists of his time will be given below.

pious Bāthuris at the time of their initiation into the religious life; but owing to ignorance nobody nowadays cares to practise it.

Just as it was enjoined upon the Buddhists of yore, at the time of their initiation to take the *tricarana mantra* of “बुद्ध शरणं गच्छामि, धर्मं शरणं गच्छामि, सङ्घं शरणं गच्छामि”—“I resign myself to Buddha, I resign myself to Dharma, I resign myself to Saṅgha,” so in later times the krypto Buddhists had to take this *gayatri*, composed in imitation of the Vedic *gayatri*. It goes without saying that this newer form of *gayatri* is simply another version of the *triṣarāṇa mantra* quoted above, its Siddha Deva, Siddha Dharma and Siddha-Dhruva, meaning nothing but Siddhārtha or Buddha, Dharma or Prajñā Pāramitā and Siddha-Saṅgha respectively.

In the remote past the Bāthuris were also known by the name of Bāthula or Bātula. Images of the gods and goddesses worshipped by this people have been disinterred from the ruins of Simlipāla and Ādipurgarh. Amongst these are found images of Acokāntā Mārīchi and Prajñā Pāramitā (broken). From the strange combination of the gods and goddesses worshipped by them one might very reasonably consider they belonged to the class of the Tāntrika Buddhists springing from the Mahāyāna School. A broken image of Prajñā Pāramitā has been preserved in a hut in Ādipur on the banks of the river Baitaraṇī. Under the name of “Bāuri Thākuraṇī” (Bāuri goddess) this image was worshipped by the Padhariyās or priests of the Bāthuris. I learnt from the old “Dākuās” of the Mahāpātra family of Dasapurgarh that there was also here a magnificent image of the ‘Bāuri Thākuraṇī.’ It is only about forty-five

years ago that it was taken away by the Dhāruās. In the first chapter of Kaulāvali Tantra we find a reference to another work of the class, called Bātula or Bāthula-tantra. In Madana-Pārijātā* also we find an extract from, it is said, a great tantra named Bāthula. Mahā-mahopādhyāya Haraprasād Čāstri has discovered an ancient tāntrika work in Nepal, and refers to it under the name of "Bātula Mahātantra.† Another work of this class, entitled Sarvajñanot-tara Tantra, and written in the Gupta characters, has also been discovered in Nepal. In this Čiva is the speaker and Saḍānana and Ganeṣa are the listeners. "This was spoken after the completion of the Bāthula-tantra"‡ The speaker in Siddhānta-dambara (from which the origin, the Gāyatrī and the *viḡamantra* of the Bauris have been extracted above,) is also Čiva and the listener Ganeṣa. It is a matter for earnest consideration whether or not the word 'Bāthula' in 'Bāthula-tantra' was in any way connected with the Bāthula or Bāthuri tribe.

Though the Bāthuris had to give up (living as they did, under the sway of Hindu kings, moving in an atmosphere of unlimited influence of the Brāhmanas, and labouring under many other untoward circumstances) many of their ancient manners and customs,—nay, though some of them went to the length of renouncing their old religion and are now found offering worship to Rāma and Mahāvira, yet their faith has not been wholly shaken, nor have they entirely given up their ancient beliefs and prejudices. They still worship Dharmarāja and Jagan-

* *Madana Parijata* published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, p. 47.

† H. P. Castri's Nepal Catalogue, p. Lxvi.

‡ H. P. Castri's Nepal Catalogue, p. Lxxiv.

nātha who is popularly known as Buddha. In some places they are also found paying the homage of their heart to Çūnya-Brahman (vulgarly known as Baḍām).

BUDDHISM IN THE 16TH CENTURY.

In dwelling upon the history of the *Bathuris* we have attempted to throw, a sidelight upon the existence of a Buddhistic Society in the backward districts of the several Gaḍajāts. We have then hinted that even so far back as the 16th century, although in its fallen condition, Buddhism was a *prevalent and highly influential* creed in Utkal, influencing the thoughts, and lives and purifying the hearts and minds of many thousands of her neglected children outwardly professing other creeds. This side-hint, we are conscious, must have raised, in the minds of thoughtful and inquisitive seekers after truth and knowledge, such questions as, how could the religion of Gautama-Buddha have for centuries held its own under the terrible persecutions of the bigoted Brahmins and the no less bigoted Hindu kings, How were these mute votaries of Mahāyāna faith able to hoodwink the argus-eyed Brahmins and their followers, and inwardly cherish a loving memory of the defunct creed and offer the incense of their loyal devotion at the altar of their god enshrined in the recesses of their hearts? How and where were these unknown and unrecognised little bands of crypto Buddhists maintaining their ground, suffering as they did, innumerable tortures and persecutions, and driven further and further beyond the pale of civilization and society?—These questions and many more must have presented themselves to

every student of the history of the Bāthuri tribe; so we shall take this opportunity to solve them in the light of the records which we have been fortunate enough to rescue from the jealous clutch of concealment or oblivion.

The names of Achyutānanda Dāsa, Balarāma Dāsa, Jagannātha Dāsa, Ananta Dāsa and Yaçovanta Dāsa are held in high esteem by the pious Vaiṣṇavas of Utkala—so much so that they have almost come to be household words with them. Besides these, there was also another, equally famous and equally honoured, *viz.*, Chaitanya Dāsa. These six are the principal poets who, with hearts stirred by religious fervour, sang the glories of Çrī Kṛṣṇa, and have, in consequence, been generally regarded (although, wrongly, as we shall show hereafter) as interpreters and champions of Vaiṣṇavism in Utkal. The pious poet Achyutānanda has left us an immortal effusion in his Çūnya Samhita. From this we learn that he flourished in the Nilāchala in the reign of King Pratāparudra of Utkal, about the same time as Chaitanya. Here we also find mention of Balarāma Dāsa, Jagannātha Dāsa, Ananta Dāsa and Yaçovanta Dāsa,* as his contemporaries. But nowhere does he refer to the illustrious Chaitanya Dāsa. This fact, together with the unmistakable sketch that the latter has drawn of himself in his Nirguṇa Māhātmya,† leads us to believe that he was not their contemporary but flourished shortly after them, and before the reign of Pratāparudra had drawn to a close. It is in any case beyond doubt that by the presence of all these six *Dāsas*

* Çūnya Samhitā, Chap. X.

† Nirguṇa Māhātmya, Chap. XVI.

(lit., followers or servants)* Utkal was honoured and sanctified early in the beginning of the 16th century.

We have already remarked that these six great souls, permeated through and through with love and devotion towards their Maker, are generally recognised as the principal Vaiṣṇava poets of Utkal, and their works regarded as the principal Vaiṣṇava literature of the country. But we hope and trust we shall be able to make good, from their own utterances, the fact that though they outwardly professed the Vaiṣṇava faith and propagated the Chaitanya cult, yet in their heart of hearts they were but sincere and staunch pioneers and champions of the long neglected, and almost forgotten, religion of the Mahāyāna School.

In his noble work, the Virāṭagītā, Balarāma Dāsa who is regarded as the foremost among these, puts the following lines, expressive of the tenets of the author, into the mouth of Arjuna, while speaking to Çrī Kṛṣṇa—

“तीहर रूप रेख नाही । शून्यपुरुष शून्यदेही ॥
बोइले शून्य तीर देही । आवर नाम थिव कांही ॥
शून्यरे ब्रह्मसिना थाहि । सेठारे नाम थिव रहि ॥”

“Thou hast no form or figure. Thou art but the void personified and embodied. Though possessed of a body, thee I know to be Çūnya,

* The word ‘Dāsa’ means here ‘one who has known Brahman as he is’—a Brahmanjānī. Thus we find in Cūnya Samhitā—

“नाम तत्त्व चिह्नि आत्मातत्त्वज्ञानी नामब्रह्मे यार आश ।
ब्रह्मदर्शी सेहि अवश्य अटइ प्रभुङ्कर सेहि दास ॥” १६ अ. ।

—He only, who has known the secret of *nama* as well as the secret of the soul, ego, and has rested all his hopes in Brahman as represented by *name*, is the real seer of Brahman and can only be said to be the staunch and faithful follower or servant (Dāsa) (of the lord).

Void. How couldst thou have other names? Brahman dwells in Çūnya, where there is nothing but name, *i.e.*, sound."

These lines, if properly construed, can hardly mean anything but a clear enunciation of the doctrine of Çūnya which is the kernel of the Mahāyāna Buddhism.

Further on we again hear Arjuna say :—

“तीर शून्यरूप शून्यदेह । किंवा दैत्यारि नामयूह ॥”

“Çūnya, the Void, is thy form ; Çūnya is thy body. How is it then that thou art carrying the name of (*i.e.* art called) Daityāri, Extirpator of Demons?”

And in reply to this, Çrī Kṛṣṇa himself is made to say :—

“मोहर शून्यरे विश्राम । से ठारे कहू अक्खि नाम ॥

मोती सन्देह लागिला । काहुती नाम जात होला ॥”

विराटगीता ।

“Çūnya is my resting-place, *i.e.*, when I give up this image, I become identified with Çūnya ; and that is, I say, my real name. I am also puzzled to think how and where the name (you speak of) was given to me.”

Not only in Virāṭagītā, but in all his works we meet with clear and unmistakable proofs of his belief in the Great Void as being the origin and the end of all the created world. Upon this one point is founded the whole fabric of his theology and religion. Thus in his Brahmāṇḍa-Bhūgola-Gītā, we find Çrī Kṛṣṇa giving the following description of himself to Arjuna :—

“केहि न थिले हे अर्जुन । महाशून्यरे मोर जन्म ॥”

“There was none (prior to me) O Arjuna. I owe this life of mine to the Great Void, *i.e.*, I came out of it, or I am one with it.”

At length in the mangalācharaṇa of his Sārasvata-Gītā, Balarāma Dāsa delivers himself of the following prayer to the Maker—

“जय धर्मं श्री पुरुषोत्तम । अनादि स्तुति परमब्रह्म ॥ १
अव्यक्त पुरुष निराकार हरि । सर्वं षटे अक्षु ब्रह्मरूप धरि ॥ २
नाहि रेख रूप तोर श्रीविष्णुपुरुष । विष्णु र गोचर ह्रीं कु प्रकाश ॥ ३
मन-नयन-चित्त-चेतन नाहि तोर । कर्म धर्मं सर्वं ठारे सिद्ध न कर ॥ ४
महाशून्य तोर नाम । श्रीकार शब्द एजे वेदान्त आगम ॥ ५”

(१ म अध्याय ।)

“All glory to thee, the soul of religion, the blessed First Being. I pray to thee, the self-sustained Brahman of Brahman. Ye unrevealed Person, O Hari (the Destroyer of all troubles and cares), O Lord, thou hast no form, no body. Yet thou art existent inside all bodies, assuming the forms of their souls. O Mighty Omniscient Being, having no form, no image, Thou dost yet reveal thyself to Viṣṇu. Thou art destitute of the mind, the eyes (the senses), the heart, and consciousness, and thou art always above and independent of all works and all religious observances and practices. Thou art (appropriately) styled the Great Void or Cypher. We learn from the Vedānta, that the letter श्री first originated in the void.”

—An exposition of the Divine Power, wholly after the doctrine of Buddhism! He is not described as a cypher in the sense of being an airy nothing, but as the essence, the total abstraction, of all powers and activities. God is not a whit denied; on the contrary He is acknowledged to be the origin and the soul of

all existence. The drift of these lines is clearly this—God is Nature suspended.

That this was the cardinal principle of his religion is further proved, if further proof be necessary, by the following words that Çrī Kṛṣṇa is made to say to Arjuna in the same work (a little below the benedictory preface)—

“श्रीहरि बोईलि हो सुष पाखु सुत ।

ब्रह्ममहिमा तीते कहिवा वेदान्त ॥

महाशून्यकु जे ब्रह्म बोलि कहि ।

से ब्रह्मरूप होइला निरञ्जन देही ॥

निरञ्जन ठारु हिला परम अवतार ।

परम ठावरु जीव होइला वाहार ॥”

सारस्वतगीता १म अध्याय ।

“Çrī Kṛṣṇa said ‘Hear me, O son of Pāṇḍu. I shall tell you in detail of the glories of Brahman. The Great Void which is said to be Brahman, (once) assumed the form of a *human being* (Nirañjana). And thus (out of the Great Void) came out a grand and glorious Being.”

Thus is the theory of incarnation of the Great Void maintained and explained by these veiled followers of Buddha, largely influenced, as they were, by the religion of Çrī Chaitanya.

From the above extracts it is evident that the Çrī Kṛṣṇa and Brahman of Balarāma Dāsa is absolutely one and the same with his Mahā-Çūnya, Çūnya-Puruṣa and Nāma. All that can be said in defence of those who regarded these pious and devout souls as Vaiṣṇava poets is that their religious lives and views were moulded and regulated, to a considerable extent, by the preachings of the Vaiṣṇava masters. And no wonder considering the atmosphere they

breathed and the pressure brought to bear upon them. Besides, the want of a living example and influence of the Buddhistic faith in their midst helped the Vaiṣṇava creed to gain the upper hand in regulating their faith.

Thus we find Jagannātha Dāsa expressing himself in his Tulā-bhinā—

“सकल मन्त्र तीर्थ ज्ञान । वोदल शून्य ये प्रमाण ॥ (p. 20.)
येते कहिलुं गो पार्श्वती । ए सर्व्व शून्यरे अर्हन्ति ॥ (p. 20.)
महाशून्यरु शून्य जात । से शून्य प्रणव सन्भूत ॥
प्रणव परमकु कहि । सकल शास्त्र से बोलाइ ॥” (p. 21.)

“The drift and aim of all *mantras*, pilgrimages and knowledge points to the validity of Çūnya.”

“All those that I have spoken to you of, O Pārvati, do but dwell in (*i.e.*, are but manifestations of) the Void.”

“Out of the Great Void came the Void : and from the Void itself came Praṇava (Om), which is said by all the Çāstras, to be the Parama, the Finalê.”

Chaitanya Dāsa also says in his Nirguṇa Māhātmya—

“आत्मा पुरुष भगवान ।	आत्मा उपरि ताकु चिन ॥ १८०
ए आत्मा परे अहि ब्रह्म ।	चिह्निले छिण्डव वन्धन ॥ १८२
ए देह गले ब्रह्म याइ ।	महाशून्यरे विश्रामइ ॥ १८३
से आत्मा ब्रह्मकु जगिहि ।	बान्धि योदला प्राये अहि ॥ १८४
पिण्डरु काहि गले प्राण ।	से घट हव महाशून्य ॥ १८५
शून्यपुरुष सङ्गे धिव ।	खोजिले आउ न पाइव ॥ १८६

१६३ अध्याय ।

“Ātmā Puruṣa, the soul, is the Bhagavat (the repository of all attributes). But know him (the

Nirguṇa) to be above and independent of the soul, *i.e.*, the attributes. Brahman is above this Atman; by knowing Him all the worldly ties are cut asunder. After leaving this body, we go to, and mix up with, Brahma, and rest (eternally) in the Great Void. The soul is ever conscious of, and living in, Brahman and is as though smarting under the (physical) restraints. When the life will depart from the body, the body will become Mahā-Çūnya. (But) I shall live on in the Çūnya-Puruṣa, never to be found even after careful searches."

We find from the above that Chaitanya Dāsa's Nirguṇa-puruṣa clearly means a total abstraction of all phenomenal activities. His Nirguṇa does not mean 'devoid of attributes,' but *above and independent of* attributes, of which the worlds are but manifestations.

Achyutānanda Dāsa's treatment of this doctrine of Çūnya in his Çūnya-Saṃhitā is more lucid and more philosophical. His Çūnya Puruṣa is the only actor on the illusory stage of the world. He observes :—

“भला पचारिलु गुप्त सन्धि । शून्यपुरुष शून्य परे वन्दी ॥
 शून्यपुरुष सदासरे रहि । शून्यपुरुष सबु माया भ्याये ॥
 शून्यपुरुष दयालु चटइ । शून्यपुरुष सञ्जघटे रहि ॥
 शून्यपुरुष करे नट घट । शून्यपुरुष जाणे कन्दकूट ॥
 शून्यपुरुष शून्यरे मारड । मारि शून्य पुण्य गति करड ॥”

“The hidden mystery (of creation) has been well laid bare to me. (It is this). The Çūnya Puruṣa has become (as it were) a prisoner in Çūnya. Though He is the master of all these illusions, having power to spread and draw them in, yet He Himself is quite indifferent to, and keeps Himself quite aloof from, all these. He is exceed-

ingly kind, being always anxious to free us from the influence of Māyā and dwells inside every created thing. From here He, well versed in craft and cunning, stirs up all the differences and discords (out of sheer kindness, so that we may not lose Him in the illusions). And when in the course of these one murders another, it is really He who murders himself (the same Ānyā Puruṣa being inside both the murderer and the murdered) and frees the murdered from all bondage and gives him the reward of a happy emancipation."

Then he goes on to describe mystically how the Ānyā Puruṣa as Jīvātman has created a world of bondage for himself and how he is reigning there.

“शून्य मन्त्रे शून्यपुरुष धरा ।	दण्ड, याद राजा होइण त्वरा ॥
शून्य पुरुष आपे दण्डि होए ।	सर्वदीप बाधा न याइ चयै ॥
शून्य पुरुषकु कैतै भगारि ।	मारिषा इच्छा अटइ ताहारि ॥
शून्य पुरुष वेदिछि वेदरे ।	शत शान्ति दया चमा पाशरे ॥
एकादश इन्द्र वेदि अछान्ति ।	कामं क्रोध मोह द्वार जागति ॥
द्वादश दलाइ गङ्गायक ।	पवित्र प्रकृति पञ्च मनत ॥
षड् चक्ररे पञ्चाश अचर ।	वास्तुरि नाडी से गङ्गा पाशर ॥
गङ्गा चारि पाशि एमाने हारी ।	शून्य पुरुषकु थानि आवरि ॥
शून्य पुरुषरे एतेक तेज ।	शून्य होइ भोग्य करइ रान्य ॥
शून्य पुरुष अलगे रहिच्छि ।	शून्य परे रहि लीला कबच्छि ॥
न छुअन्ति ताकु पवित्र जण ।	अलगे रहि करे भिन्ना भिन्न ॥
शून्य पुरे शून्य पुरुष रहै ।	शून्य भजन निराकार ध्यायै ॥
द्वाविंश अचरे करे भजन ।	शून्य पुरुष निराकारध्यान ॥

“Ānyā Puruṣa can be taken only through the Ānyā Mantra. He is a king with all the emblems of royalty. (These emblems do, however, mean but restraints put upon himself); and such is the strength and force of these restraints and bonds, the sources of all evils, that though lord of

them all, He cannot shake them off. He has innumerable opponents and enemies, and is very anxious to free Himself from them. With goodness, mercy, love of peace and forgiveness, about him, He is passing his days, as it were, inside a dungeon, always trying to get out and always opposed. Lust, passion and (mental) infatuation are keeping watch at the gate ; and twelve watchmen are in charge of the fortification. The twenty-five causes, the five minds, the six mystic circles of the body and the fifty letters, and the seventy-two veins and arteries—all these are mounting guard near and about the fortification. By these sentries the Çūnya Puruṣa is surrounded on all sides. O how great is the prowess of the Çūnya Puruṣa !—Though a pure and simple abstraction, yet He is exercising all the rights of royalty. He is, however, quite aloof from all these, and only diverts Himself thus—in no way affected or polluted by them. He is not within the reach of the twenty-five causes, rather He creates differences among them from afar. The Çūnya Puruṣa is living, as it were, inside a Çūnya castle, praying to, and meditating upon, the imageless Çūnya, by means of the thirty-two letters.”.....

These lines, however crude the philosophy underlying them, mean that the Çūnya Puruṣa, living within ourselves as our soul or Ego, can be realised only if we can throw off the shackles of nature and her concomitant fears and temptations ; and that, though living within us, He is no party to any of our natural propensities and can be reached only by annihilating the mind and resting all our thoughts upon Him as Çūnya Puruṣa.

Then he clearly and unhesitatingly rejects

the accepted forms of worship, and formulates others which will be hailed as bright and undying sparks from the great fire of Buddhism. His words are :—

“चउद ब्रह्माण्ड उपरे अक्खि ।	शून्य शून्य मद्दशून्यरे गच्छि ॥
निराकार भजि मा दुर्गा देवी ।	एणु निर्लेपकु धायान्ति सेवि ॥
तु ये पचारिलु परम सन्धि ।	ध्यान धारणा आदिमान विधि ॥
अङ्गन्यास करन्यास हिं नाहिं ।	स्थानभङ्ग मुद्रा किच्छिहिं नाहिं ॥
ऊर्ध्वकर योङ्गि कर तु लये ।	ऊर्ध्वमुख करि कर तुलए ॥
ऊर्ध्वमुख करि चिताकु ध्याअ ।	विकूट सन्धि अलेखकु चाहे ॥
निराकार मन्त्र कण्ठ चक्रे ।	वील बावू स्वर अङ्ग मुखरे ॥
द्वाविंश अक्षर उच्चार कर ।	नयन न चलु चिता चक्रर ॥
अचले येसने मन्दर रहे ।	अचले तेसने ज्योतीन्द्र ध्याये ॥
अचले सुमन निथल धर ।	शून्यपुरुषकु तु लये कर ॥
दिशिव शून्य दिव्यमान काया ।	निराकाररूप अरूपदेहा ॥”

शून्यसंहिता ७म अः)

“He is above the fourteen worlds ; and being himself void goes up to the Great Void. Mother Durgā is worshiping the Formless and is always engaged in praying to the *Nirlepa*, the Absolute. Thou hast laid bare the deepest and most valuable secret. We do now know that the religious injunctions of meditation, steady mental abstraction and the like, the touching of certain parts of the body and certain gesticulations of the hands in worship, the peculiar intertwining of the fingers for the same purpose,—all these are absolutely void and meaningless. We have only to fold our hands together and to lift them up, palms upwards, and with the face decorated with the sacred marks on the forehead and turned up towards the heaven, to offer our prayers. The muttering of set prayers, the telling of the beads of the rosary, are all done away with ; and we have, instead, only to look inward—within ourselves. With upturned face, we have to utter

the *Çūnya mantra* from the mystic circle in the throat. And this *mantra* is nothing but to utter the thirty-two letters, with the eyes fixed upon the circle midway between the eyebrows. When the temple of the body will be motionless, then has the motionless lord of all lustres to be meditated upon. Then the mind has to be made firm and steady and fixed upon and absorbed in the *Çūnya Puruṣa*. Then will you see the bright and beautiful *Çūnya* form of Him who has no form, no figure and yet has a body."

Although professing to be Vaiṣṇavas, they interpret the cult of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa in a new way, and one quite different from the ordinary Vaiṣṇava point of view. The following extract from the writings of Achyutānanda and Jagannātha will show how under the veil of Vaiṣṇavism this sect propagates in reality some of the doctrines of the Mahāyāna School:—

(a) "जीव आत्मा राधि बलि परम मुरारि ।" (शून्यसंहिता २५ अ: १)

"Rādhikā is the Jīvātman and Murāri the Paramātman.

(b) "एकाङ्ग ब्रह्मरूप होइ । राधिका सङ्गे भावयाही ॥
गोलक नित्य एहा कहि । शून्य देउल ए बोलाइ ॥"

"One and the same with Rādhikā, as being part and parcel of the same body, Brahman, approachable only through the heart, resides in Golaka which is nothing but the Çunyadeul or void."
(Jagannātha in his Tulābhinā.)

(c) "परम आत्माटी महाशून्य बलि भाव ।
एहिटि अरूपानन्द नामतत्त्व ठुल ।
उद्भव भंगइ करि राधा प्रेम भोल ॥"

"Know the Paramātman to be the Mahā-

Çūnya. Know him, in short, to be the formless source of bliss, to be nothing but the name itself.” (Çūnya Saṁhita Ch. 22.)

Here Achyutānanda makes a clearer statement of his doctrines. Hence it is evident that the interpretation given to the cult of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa by these writers does not at all tally with the mythological accounts of the Vaiṣṇavas. The whole subject has been idealised and elaborated in such a way as to signify the relations of man's soul to Paramātmā. Jagannātha Dāsa has openly declared that Vṛndāvana, Mathurā and other holy places should not be localised on any map or identified with the actual villages of the same names. In reality they signify Mahā-Çūnya or the Great Void :—

“कृष्णर क्रीडारस एहि ।	गुप्त हन्दावन कहि ॥
मथुरापुर मङ्गाश्रय ।	गोपनगर सेहु जान ॥”

—“Such is the meaning of the love-feats of Kṛṣṇa. Vṛndāvana is really a secret place. Mathurāpura means nothing but the Great Void, and this is also the meaning of Gopanagara.”

(Tulabhinā Ch. 9.)

The following extract from Brahmāṇḍa-Bhūgola-Gītā of Balarāma Dāsa reads like another version of the origin of the universe given by Rāmāi Paṇḍit* during the ascendancy of the Pāla Kings :—

“वे काले न थिखा संसार ।	न थिला चन्द्र दिवाकर ।
न थिले दिवस रजनी ।	न थिला मेद मेदा भूमि ॥

* *Vide* Çūnya Purāṇa, published by the Vangliya Sāhitya Parisad, pp. 1-2.

न धिले थावर पवन ।	न धिले शून्ये तारागण ॥
न धिले देवासुर नर ।	न धिले संसार सागर ॥
न धिले अल्प तेज बल ।	न धिले ब्रह्मा विष्णु इर ॥
से काले शून्य मोर रुद्र ।	एमन्ते गला कोटिकल्प ॥
ब्रह्माण्ड मोर गर्भ लेहि ।	रखिलि ब्रह्मरूप हीड ॥
केहि न धिले हे अर्जुन ।	महाशून्यरूप मोर जन्म ।
एमन्ते केते दिन अन्ते ।	दया बसिला मोर चिते ॥
सृष्टि करिते बाव्हा हेला ।	मो अद्भु विन्दु उकलिला ॥
से विन्दु हस्तरे ठेलि ।	वि अद्भुले गलाइलि ॥
से विन्दु त्रिय भाग हेला ।	विबोज रस बलाइला ॥
विबोजरु त्रिश देव ।	हीडले ब्रह्मा विष्णु शिव ॥”

—“When the world was not in existence, when there was neither the sun nor the moon, neither day nor night, neither land nor water, neither the fixed earth nor the inconstant wind, nor were there the sky and the stars in it, when there was no god, no demon, no human being; when there was no world, no ocean, no force, no fire; when there was no Brahmā, Viṣṇu or Hara, then was Çūnya my form, and thus did crores of kalpas pass away. Then did I assume the form of Brahman with the Brahmāṇḍa inside me. There was none, O Arjuna, (to bring me out). I came out of the Great Void. After a pretty long time had thus passed away, my heart was moved and I felt inclined to create the world. Then out of my person did seed begin to ooze. I brushed it off with three fingers of my hand. The seed, thus brushed off, became divided into three parts, charged with three different qualities and out of these three parts of the seed did the three gods of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Çiva come.”

In his Ganeṣa-Vibhūti-tīkā, we find Balārāma

Dāsa attempting at a description of his Çūnya Puruṣa. He says

“अनाकाररूपं गूढं गूढं मध्ये निरञ्जनः ।
निराकारमधेऽज्योतिः सज्जीतिर्भगवानयम् ॥”

“The Çūnya is devoid of all forms and shapes. In the centre of this Çūnya is Nirañjana, a formless and brilliant figure. It is that shapeless and formless brilliant figure which is Bhagavat, the master of all attributes.”

Achyuta Dāsa in his Çūnya-Saṁhitā, Anādi-Saṁhitā, and Anākāra Saṁhitā, uses the terms ‘Anākāra,’ ‘Nirākāra,’ ‘Nirañjana,’ ‘Ajara,’ ‘Anādyā’ and ‘Akṣaya’ as synonymous with the term Çūnya ; and these terms have always been employed to describe the indescribable Divine Being. But he has not, like the other Buddhistic preachers of this age, been completely able to shake off the belief in the gods and goddesses as intermediate beings between man and Çūnya. He exclaims :

“वीक्षन्ति गुरुं शुनं व्रजसुत, कङ्क्षिवा तोते बुभुक्ष ।
प्रथमरे गुरुविद्या पदार्थान्ति ब्रह्मभाग दूरे धोर्ध्व ॥
ब्रह्मा विष्णु रुद्र ता परे दुर्गायै पङ्कान्ति आद्येर गुरु ।
साम जजु रुक् अथर्व ए आदि पङ्कान्ति आद्य ठाकुर ।”

“Guru, the spiritual preceptor, says—Hear me, O Vrajasuta, I shall explain (it) to you in detail. Aim, at the outset, at a knowledge of the Guru, leaving aside all attempts at an acquisition of the knowledge of the Brahman. Know Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra and Durgā as the first preceptors, being embodiments of the different attributes of the Godhead, and you will gradually learn of the primitive Thākura, the first and foremost God, by studying the Sāma, Yajūs, Rig and Atharva Vedas.”

But his highly spiritual culture convinced him of the uselessness of merely studying books, and he draws a nice distinction between the mere reading of them and an intelligent assimilation of the principles therein laid down with the whole head and heart. The mind will have to be annihilated, and only those principles which help us in identifying ourselves with the Brahman, should be scrupulously observed.

“कीडिये गुटिये फला पदालि रज तमे मन रखि ।

ब्रह्मर भेद तहि किछि न पाइ कर्मसंगे रुन जगि ॥” ६८

“ You have learnt, although not without great trouble, the alphabets of religion and the words produced by their permutations and combinations, whilst your mind was completely under the influence and control of the lower attributes of ignorance and passion. These attributes, as opposed to the third and highest attribute, *viz.*, Sattva, *i.e.*, the spiritualistic tendency, drag us down and keep us bound to the way of karman, work, for salvation. So having the mind absorbed in work (materialism), you have not been able to find the real nature of the Brahman.”

“गीता भागवत पुराण पढ़िवा कहिवा चातुरी धिव ।

तत्त्व अनाकार नाम ब्रह्मभेद न पाई व्यर्थे डिव ॥” १०२

(अनाकारसंहिता)

(Unless you are bent upon the salvation of your soul) you will read the Gītā, the Bhāgavata, the Purāṇas and yet learn nothing but tricks and cunning (to impose upon the worldly-minded people). All your pains will be fruitless. You will know nothing of the mystery of the conception of Godhead as devoid of all forms and

images, which means a complete unification and identification of the *name* and the conception of Brahman."

It is evident from these lines that Achyuta Dāsa laid no stress upon the study of the Hindu religious *çāstras*. We may study them as much as we like and yet be not a whit improved. Until and unless we thoroughly digest the knowledge that Brahman is absolutely *nirākāra* and is wholly identical with the *nāma* itself, we shall be grovelling in the darkness of ignorance and passion. It is also doubtful whether he had any faith in the Brāhmanic customs, though he had not been completely able to rid himself of allegiance to them.

At the end of his work he refers to the scriptures, the main themes of which, he says, are to sing the glories of *Çrī Kṛṣṇa*; and his own *Anākāra-Saṁhitā* is simply an epitome of all these. Moreover, the *Çrī Kṛṣṇa* of these scriptures is not the *Çrī Kṛṣṇa* of *Vaiṣṇavism*: it is a pure and simple pseudonym, so to speak, for the *Anākāra Çūnya Puruṣa* of Buddhism, adopted, as appears likely, to throw dust in the eyes of the jealous Brāhmaṇas. Except for occasional glimpses, to be found in his works, of the spiritual region of the class of thinkers to which he belongs, we have no other proofs to establish their faith in Buddhism. It is for this that they have generally passed for devout *Vaiṣṇavas*. But to any careful student of religion these glimpses will be quite sufficient to illumine the whole course of their religious tendency. Thus he says:—

“अनाकार जे श्रीब्रह्मसंहिता गय मने कर छार ।

श्रीकृष्णचरणे शरण पशिला दोन अच्युत पामर ॥

कविश संहिता अष्टोत्तर गीता वंशानुसमवासरं ।
 उपवंशानु दाविंशखण्ड विद्मि भविष्य तेर खण्डरे ॥
 पद पदावली लक्ष लक्ष गय्य सुबु श्रीकृष्णमहिमा ।
 तो आगे कहिलू ब्रजकुमार ब्रह्मसारखतधीमा ॥
 ए अध्याय गुप्त करिण रखिलु बेलरे हेव प्रकाश ।
 श्रीकृष्णचरणे शरण पशिला पामर अच्युतदास ॥
 ब्रजकुल तारि आपणे तरिवि श्रीकृष्णसहाय दइहि ।
 अव्यक्त हरि अनाकार पूरि तेण पद पुरु अहि ॥”

“Only do think of (*i.e.*, firmly adhere to the injunction laid down in) the Great Brahma-Samhitā which deals with the Anākāra. And with this advice to you all, the low and sinful Achyuta Dāsa (meaning himself) resigns himself absolutely to the grace of Āṇi Kṛṣṇa. All the scriptures, *viz.*, the thirty-six Samhitās, the hundred and eight Gītās and the seven series of the Vamṇānucharita, the twenty-two volumes of the Upa-Vamṇānucharita and the thirteen volumes of the Bha-viṣya, all the religious hymns and songs and lyrics, and hundreds of thousands of other books,—all sing the glory of Āṇi Kṛṣṇa. O son of Vraja (*i.e.*, devotee of Āṇi Kṛṣṇa), I have already told you of the subject-matter of Brahma-Sārasvata-Gītā. But this chapter (meaning probably a full discussion of Āṇi Kṛṣṇa) has been kept secret from you—only to be divulged hereafter. And now the mean and humble Achyuta Dāsa bids adieu to you taking refuge at the feet of Āṇi Kṛṣṇa (*i.e.*, resigning himself to His grace). And now, through His grace, not only he, but the whole line of Vraja-Sutas, will be saved. In the realm of Anākāra dwells the unrevealed Hari, and Achyuta has thrown himself completely at His mercy.”

From the above quotation, it is clear that this class of Vaiṣṇava poets did not attach

much importance, if any at all, to the Vedas and the Purāṇas of the Hindus. They had their own scriptures, composed by the highest and greatest amongst them; and a scrupulous adherence to the injunctions and principles here enunciated they considered a better passport for the attainment of Mokṣa.

However veiled the religious views of these poets may have been generally, they, sometimes, out of the fulness of their hearts, allow the expression of their faith to flow in clear and limpid streams. Thus in his Viṣṇu-garbha, we find Chaitanya Dāsa saying :—

“अगोचर पुरुष से नाहि रूपवर्ण ।
 एषिति नाहि तार अटे महाशून्य ॥
 रूपवर्ण न होई से अरूप तार देखी ।
 शून्यर सङ्गते से शून्य होई थाई ॥
 अरूप अवर्ण से लक्ष्य देवाकु नीहिव उपमा ।
 चौद ब्रह्माख खोजिले नाहि प्रतिसीमा ॥
 प्रति तुल्य लक्ष्य से न आसिले कोहि ।
 एमन्त महिमा से अलेखर देखी ॥
 शून्य सङ्गते से शून्य शून्य शून्यरूपी ।
 शून्य सङ्गते मिश्रि अकि सकल स्थानव्यापी ।
 शून्य द्रिष्टि ताहार अठई निगधर ।
 शून्यरे थाई से शून्ये करई वेद्वार ॥”

“Devoid of all forms and figures, He is no subject of experience. There is nothing beyond or above Him in the whole of the Mahācūnya.”

“He has no form, no colour. His body may be said to be the absence of all forms and structures. He is Cūnya, being one and the same with Cūnya.”

“He is devoid of all forms and destitute of all colours; amongst the thousand and one gods

there is none to be any match for Him. Search the whole of the fourteen worlds but nowhere will you find any limit to Him. Even hundreds of thousands of gods will be no whit of a rival for Him—so great is the glory and greatness of that Formless Person. He is mixed up with Çūnya, He is Çūnya, His form is Çūnya, and identified with Çūnya, He is ever over the whole of space.”

“His proper home is in Çūnya; and dwelling in Çūnya He makes Himself manifest in Çūnya.”

What more convincing proof of their staunch faith in Buddhism can one expect? Here the author has risen above all dread of persecution, and, for once at least, makes bold to announce himself clearly, and without the least shade of ambiguity, as embracing the doctrine of the Void.

But the above are not the only passages that betray these krypto Buddhists. In their scriptures numberless pebbles of faith lie on the shore, and one has only to pick up and examine a few to know that they are but fragments of the mighty Buddhistic structure.

Balarāma Dāsa thus expounds the theory in his *Brahmāṇḍa-Bhugola-gītā* by way of an address to Arjuna,—

“Listen, O Arjuna, with attention—I am going to explain to you (the principles of) the *Bhāgavata*. Out of the Great Void came the Void and out of this came *moha*, illusion.” (Chap. II). “That which is called *nigama* is in reality the Great Void. It is simply because the end of the Vedas cannot be reached, that they were given the name of *Nigama*. That which is called *Kalpataru* (lit. a tree bearing, as its fruits, the

objects of our desires), is really an embodiment of the Formless !”¹

The above quotations from the great poets of the 16th century leave little room for doubt that Mahāçūnya, the Great Void, which is the cardinal doctrine of the Mādhyamika Philosophy, was also the highest goal of their religious aspirations. It is indeed the case that we very frequently meet with such words of Hindu Philosophy as Bhāgavata, Nigama, Jñānatattva, Haribhakti, Kṛṣṇa-kathā and others in their works; the most casual student of these will, however, admit that belief in Mahāçūnya, the Great Void, is still the mainspring of their religious life. Balarāma Dāsa himself has unmistakably hinted that there is nothing of any value whatsoever in mere nomenclature. His point is, whatever name we may apply, we always refer to one and the same Supreme Being, conceivable in the form of Om̐ and identical with Çūnya Brahman. It is for this reason that the pious Vaiṣṇava poets are found frequently to allude to the name as the sole essence of the universe. Balarāma Dāsa gives the following account of himself in his Guptagītā or Chatticā—

¹ “शुण षर्जुन मन देइ । कहिवा भागवत फेर ॥
महाशून्यरु शून्य हिला । से शून्य फल मोह हिला ॥”

(२४ अध्याय ।)

“निगम बोलि जाहा कहि । महाशून्यटो से षटइ ॥
वेद जंदि कि न गमिला । तेणु निगम नाम हिला ॥
कलपतरुटो जाहा कहि । निराकारटो रूप सेहि ॥
से ठारु रस बोज गलि । से रस बोज फल फलि ॥
शुक बोलि ता जाहा कहि । सुधा रसटो से षटइ ॥”

(४४ अध्याय ।)

“Highly pleased to hear this, Arjuna fell prostrate at the feet of Ārī Kṛṣṇa and said ‘How will the occult Guptagītā be made known? Be pleased, O my Lord, to tell me through whose lips you will make it public. Ārī Hari answered, “Hear me O Arjuna. I have a favourite son (disciple) named Paduma. He will have a son under the name of Aniruddha. He will, in his turn, pass away in course of time. I, who am known in the Vedas as Brahman Himself, will in the Kaliyuga, assume the form of Dāru-Brahma (Jagannātha). There will then be a king under the name of Pratāparudra. In his time from Somanātha will descend Anirudha by his wife Jamunā. In one of the chapters of Guptagītā it is given out that his son will be named Balarāma Dāsa, through whose lips, says Balarāma Dāsa, will pour out the nectar of the precepts of the Guptagītā.”’¹

The following lines, also from his Praṇava

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- ¹ “गुणि अर्जुन तपुति हृदया । चरणवले पङ्क्ति पचारिला ॥ ४२
 गुप्तगीता ये होइछे गुप्त । कलिरै कैमले छेव सकत ॥ ४३
 काहा मुखरे एहा कहाइव । ए कथा प्रभु नीवे आज्ञा छेव ॥ ४४
 श्रीहरि वोइले गुण अर्जुन । पदुम अटइ मोर नन्दन ॥ ४५
 ताहार सुत अनिरुध छेव । से पुणि कालरै चय होइव ॥ ४६
 मु ये वेदरु ब्रह्म अवतार । कलियुगे हारुब्रह्मशरीर ॥ ४७
 प्रतापरुद्र नामे छेव राए । कहइ तीते से काल संशये ॥ ४८
 सोमनाथ नामे पुत्र ताहार । अनिरुध जात ताहार घर ॥ ४९
 जमुना नामे ताहार भारिया । अनिरुध छेव ताहार तनुजा ॥ ५०
 ताहार नाम बलराम दास । गुप्तगीता अध्याये प्रकाश ॥ ५१
 बलरामदास गुप्त करि । अध्याय करि सेहु जिवे मरि ॥ ५२
 ता मुखे कहाइवा गीतारस । भावरे भणिले बलरामदास ॥ ५३

Gītā,* are well deserving of quotation in this connection :—

“The Brāhmaṇas listened attentively to my discussion of the principles of the Praṇava Gītā, which are in reality the occult principles of the Gītā based upon the Vedānta Çāstra, from upon the *Mukti-mandapa*. But when they found that it was I who had done this, ceaseless was the torrent of abuse that poured upon me. Even Mahārāja Pratāparudra scolded me severely in great wrath and said “What right have you, a Çūdra, to utter the Praṇava (Om) and discuss the principles of the Vedas? Certainly it is wrong on your part to do so.” Hearing this I smiled gently and said “Hear me, O protector of men and master of elephants,—Çrīpati (lit., husband of Çrī, goddess of good fortune, *i.e.*, Bhagavat) is in no body’s exclusive possession (as birth-right). He is his who is a good and pious man—be he a Brāhmaṇa or a Chaṇḍāla by birth; of the kind and merciful Jagannātha no body has any monopoly. The vipras are simply boasting, O King, when they say that he is theirs. Vain men, they say this out of *moha*, sheer ignorance. I can make good my case by quoting at random from the Vedas. Upon this the vipras got furious and cried.:—“Ask him immediately to do this.” And at this the king ordered ‘Well then maintain your position, O Vaiṣṇava, as you say.’ I replied, ‘Hear me, O King. You seem to have been highly annoyed. However, be pleased, O King, to go to the place of our King with the whole troop of your Brāhmaṇas. With the grace of our Lord he will explain by quoting lines from the Vedas and the Vedānta all that you may be pleased to ask of him.’

* In some MSS. the name is Pralamba-Gītā.

Then the King strengthened himself upon his point as far and as much as he could, and triumphantly went there. In the meanwhile the viṣayī (adviser) went and informed cihāmukarāṇa (private secretary) of what had happened. But afraid to go back home, I remained at the foot of the banian tree. At dead of night Narahari smiled pleasantly and said merrily, 'I do always dwell in the heart of the *largest lotus* (*sahasradala padma*). Not aware of this the king and the Brāhmaṇas quarrel with my votaries. (But they should know that) my votary is my life (so to speak).' Saying this He went away. The next morning the king remembered (my challenge) and came (to my place) with the vipras. Dull and ignorant from birth and fond of quarrelling, the king was very angry and quarrelled with the votaries. He had a çūdra brought before him and ordered him again to explain the Vedas. Upon this I became all of a sudden unconscious of my body, *i.e.*, became absorbed in a trance and lived in the soul. And thus I thought within myself, 'I have been slighted before the king. The vipras about him have laughed me to scorn. Murāri, the destroyer of all fears and dreads—O Narahari, do come to me. I do beseech Thee.' And when I was thus praying within myself, I heard the reassuring voice of Hari—Dāmodara, dotingly fond of his votaries—standing before me in a vision out of pity and kindness. Then thus reassured, and concentrating my mind upon the thought of Çrī Hari, I said "Hear me, O best of Kings, it is no fault of ours then that you want to hear the principles of the Vedas from the lips of a Çūdra. If you do this, you will lose in virtue. This Jaḍa is dumb and ignorant and maintains himself by begging alms in Kṣetra. You yourself know this and

will not therefore, I pray, be offended at what I say.' But Kṛṣṇa whispered Sārasvata knowledge in the ears of Jaḍa and I placed my hand upon his head. He looked up and smiled. The Vipras said, 'If he can say this, we shall acknowledge ourselves defeated by a dāsa (ṣūdra).' Hearing this my indwelling spirit got enraged and called aloud, 'Be pleased, my friend Jaḍa, to say your say.' Then Jaḍa said 'Hear me, O king, I shall clearly tell you the details of creation. From the *Nitya*, the Eternal and Absolute, sprang Čūnya into existence, out of which came Praṇava. From this Praṇava again did Čabda, come out and from the Čabdas the Vedas were developed; and from these again the whole creation came into being. This is what we learn from the Vedānta." At this the king and all the vipras present were completely taken aback. After a pause the king said out of great delight, 'Hear me O Dāsa. Siddhi is certainly within your reach. You are no doubt a very great man blessed in the possession of all knowledge. It cannot be that this ṣūdra has said all this; (he must have done so under an inspiration from you) who are the master of all secrets. Be pleased to delight me by pouring into my ears the honey of *Bhedajñāna*, (knowledge arising out of the consciousness of difference). This ṣūdra Jaḍa is a great dullard. He can never speak of the beauties of the Vedas; otherwise these will be disgraced and lowered in the estimation of the public. You are a well-informed and wise man. Please explain to me the beauties of the Vedānta." I was much pleased to hear the words of the king and thus prayed "O Chakradhara, (lit., one holding the discus in his hand) O Dāmodara, you who are so fond of your votaries, and who

are the overthrower of the proud and the vain-glorious, and the extirpator of demons, you have saved me in this crisis. Be pleased again to help me up so that I may so successfully explain the essential principles of the Vedānta before the vipras that the king will be highly pleased to hear me." My mind was then filled with delight at the idea that with the kind favour of my Lord I shall be able to disperse the cloud of doubt that had gathered over the minds of the vipras ; and it was soon concentrated upon the thought of the Lord. Then slowly but steadily He became visible before my mental eyes and the Bhedaññāna, in the form of a dialogue between Ārī Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna, illumed the recesses of my mind. And this instruction delivered in response to the request of Ārī Sāmanta Deva, which I learnt from the lips, as it were, of the Creator, is the honeyed essence of the Pranava Gupta-Gītā of this humble Balaram Dāsa (i.e., my humble self)."¹

१ 'मुक्ति-मण्डप परे विप्रे ।	वेदान्तशास्त्र गीता गीये ॥ ५
त्रिवार शुणिलि सचौरे ।	प्रणवगीतार त्रिवारि ॥ ६
तहिं देखिले विप्र मोते ।	धिकारि गालि देखि जेते ॥ ७
केते कहिवि ताहु गालि ।	राजाहु आगे सो गहारि ॥ ८
प्रतापरुद्र महाराजा ।	कोपे बीडले बड़ पथ्या ॥ ९
प्रणव वेदवादमान ।	कि अधिकारि शूद्रज्ञान ॥ १०
एसन्त उचित नो हर ।	ता शुणि हसिलि मुद्र ॥ ११
शुण हे रूप गजपति ।	काहारि नोइलि शीपति ॥ १२
भक्त जनकर से हरि ।	विप चाखाल से आदि करि ॥ १३
करुणामय जगन्नाथ ।	काहारि नोइलि एकत ॥ १४
विप्रे जे बोललि आम्हर ।	गर्व्य करलि नृपवर ॥ १५
सोह बीडले तुच्छ जन ।	वेद कहिव अनुक्षण ॥ १६
शुणि क्रीधरे विप्रगणे ।	ए कहुं वेद इहा खने ॥ १७
शुणि रूपनि काटा कला ।	कह हे वैष्णव बडला ॥ १८
आम्हे बीडलु शुण रूप ।	तुम्हे त कख बड़ कोप ॥ १९

From Balarāma Dāsa's account of himself we learn that it was during the reign of Rājā Pratāparudra Deva that he first came into prominence. For some time he was held

कालि प्रभाते विप्रगण ।
जाड़ा विचारि पचारिव ।
वेदवेदान्त से कहिव ।
शुणि राजन डढ़ कला ।
एमन्ते बड़ अवकाशे ।
बटमूलरे मु रङ्गलि ।
महानिशारे नरहरि ।
वर कमल वेनि स्थाने ।
विप्रे वृपति न जानलि ।
भक्त मोहर निज प्राण ।
प्रभाते राजा मने थिला ।
क्रोध करिण नरपति ।
विवाद मनरे वृपति ।
आनिता एक शूद्र जन ।
ता शुणि साहसा भीहर ।
मने विचार कलि मुद्र ।
विप्रे अकलि राजा पाश ।
आतङ्कनाशन मुरारि ।
तहिंछि विचारइ मने ।
भक्तवत्सल दासीदर ।
एनु भरसा कलि मन ।
बोलइ शुण वृपवर ।
शूद्रमुखरु वेदवाणी ।
मुखं मौन जड़ा एहि ।
ताहात जान वृपवर ।
कृण्व वीलिण तार कर्णे ।
शिररे कर देलि मुद्र ।
विप्रे बीडले ए कहिब ।
ता शुणि क्रोध मोर देही ।
जड़ा बोलइ शुण राजा ।
नित्यरु शून्य होइ जात ।

वृपति धिवहे आपण ॥ २०
मुक राजाकु सेलागिव ॥ २१
श्रीहरि कृपाए हइव ॥ २२
विजय करि तहुं गला ॥ २३
कामुरे जनाइलि विशं ॥ २४
रुमये घरकु न गलि ॥ २५
हसि कहन्ति संकरि ॥ २६
थिवइ मुद्र अनुखने ॥ २७
भक्तकु विवाद करन्ति ॥ २८
कहिं छलिले नारायण ॥ २९
विप्रङ्क घेनि चलिगला ॥ ३०
भक्तकु विवाद करन्ति ॥ ३१
जन्मरु मूर्ख जड़मति ॥ ३२
बीडला कह वेद पुण ॥ ३३
अज्ञान होइला शरीर ॥ ३४
लवु होइलि राजा ठाड़ ॥ ३५
करिले हास परिहास ॥ ३६
डाकिलि आस नरहरि ॥ ३७
हरि जे कहिले स्वपने ॥ ३८
करुणा करि ए ठार ॥ ३९
श्रीहरि हरे कलि ध्यान ॥ ४०
नाहिटि दोष हे मोहर ॥ ४१
तुम्हे शुणिव जेवे पुणि ॥ ४२
लेवमघे सागि खाइ ॥ ४३
ए मोर दोष हे न घर ॥ ४४
बीडला सारखन जाने ॥ ४५
हसिला जड़ामुख चाहि ॥ ४६
दासीहे निखज होइव ॥ ४७
डाकिलि कह जड़ा भाइ ॥ ४८
निशय कहिवि मृष्टि सथी ॥ ४९
शून्यरु प्रणव सम्भूत ॥ ५०

in esteem and treated with consideration by this king, though afterwards for certain reasons he had to retire from the stage of the Court and pass his days in disguise and concealment.

Twenty two years after the death of Pratāpa-rudra and at the accession of Mukunda Deva in 1551 A. D. the political firmament of Utkala began to be convulsed with stupendous changes. Mukunda Deva was a zealous supporter of the cause of Buddhism. Under his auspices Balarāma Dāsa re-entered the arena of religion which he had

प्रणव शवद जनमिला ।
वेदु सकल सृष्टि हीइ ।
ता शुणि राजा विप्रगण ।
बीइले नृपति आनन्दे ।
तुम्हे महत षड लोक ।
ए शुद्र न कहू ए वाणी ।
कह भेद ज्ञानरस ।
शूद्र पाषण्ड सूर्ख जडा ।
बेदकु निन्दन हइव ।
विप्रङ्ग करि नमस्कार ।
तुम्हे त सुविज्ञ पुरुष ।
शुणि राजनर वचन ।
बीलइ शुण चक्रधर ।
गर्गगञ्जन दैत्यारि ।
एवे करुणा अर मोते ।
शुनि नृपति हेव तीष ।
विप्रङ्ग सन्देह फिटिब ।
एते जनाइ मो आनन्द ।
तत्त्वणे पद मो मनरे ।
शौक्लण अर्जुन संवाद ।
श्रीसामन्त देव संवाद ।
कहए बलराम दास ।

शवदु वेद ये बीइला ॥ ५१
एमले वेदान्त बुलाइ ॥ ५२
चकिते न फुरे वचन ॥ ५३
शुण हे दासे सिद्धि साध्ये ॥ ५४
ज्ञान सकल ज्ञानसुख ॥ ५५
तुम्हे सकल परिमाणी ॥ ५६
शुणि ता हीइवुं सन्तीष ॥ ५७
एहु न कहू वेदलोला ॥ ५८
जनरे विकृत सुभिव ॥ ५९
भासा प्रकृते विचार ॥ ६०
कह वेदाल विद्यारस ॥ ६१
शुणि सन्तीष हला मन ॥ ६२
भक्तवत्सल दामोदर ॥ ६३
सारिलु ए सङ्गटु हरि ॥ ६४
कहिबि विप्रङ्ग अयते ॥ ६५
वेदान्त सारज्ञानरस ॥ ६६
मोते करुणा प्रभु हेव ॥ ६७
मने बिज्जिल पद्मपाद ॥ ६८
प्रवेश हीइला सधारे ॥ ६९
मने प्रवेश हला भेद ॥ ७०
जा कहिले पद्मपाद ॥ ७१
प्रणव गुप्तगीतारस ॥ ७२

(प्रणवगीता १ म अः)

left during the latter part of the reign of Pratāparudra. And this has probably been represented as his second birth. From the following extract we get a faint glimpse into the political condition of Utkala during the reign of Rājā Pratāparudra :—

“A very curious anecdote is related of his conduct, which seems to show that the followers of Buddha continued to form a sect of importance in this part of India until the beginning of the sixteenth century. It is said that a serious robbery happened in the Rājā's palace, and that he (Pratāparudra) being anxious to discover the perpetrators, assembled together all the wise men, both of the Buddhist and the Brahminical persuasion, to obtain their assistance in prosecuting an investigation. The Brahmins could tell nothing, but the followers of Buddha, through their knowledge of the occult art, were enable to point out both the offender and the place where the stolen property was concealed. The Rājā was induced by this incident to form so high an opinion of the learning and skill of the Buddhists, that he became for some time a warm supporter of that sect. His Rānī, on the other hand, espoused zealously the cause of the Brāhmins. It was at last determined to make another formal trial of their relative skill as men of science and magicians. Accordingly a snake was secretly put into an earthen jar, the mouth of which being covered up, the vessel was produced in a great assembly at the palace. Both parties were then asked what the jar contained. The Brahmins answered,—“It contains only earth;” and sure enough, when opened it was found to contain nothing but earth. This specimen of skill entirely changed the Rājā's opinions, but he now became as violent against the

Buddhists as he had been before prejudiced in their favour—so much so that he not only withdrew his protection and countenance, but violently expelled the whole sect from his dominions, and destroyed all their books. It is added that about this time Chaitanya Mahāprabhu came from Nadia in Bengal to visit the temple of Jagannātha, and that he performed miracles "before the Rājā".*

Though the Buddhists were persecuted during the time of Pratāparudra Deva, yet they succeeded, as we learn from other sources, in securing largely the patronage of Rājā Telanga Mukunda Deva. Thus the Tibetan work Pogsoni says—"Mukunda Deva (Dharma Rājā), king of Otivisa (Orissa) who favoured Buddhism, became powerful. His power extended up to Magadha. He, too, did some service to the cause of Buddhism."

Indeed we may, on the authority of Praṇava Gītā, make bold to assert that although Balarāma Dāsa generally passed for a Vaiṣṇava, yet he was, while in the court of Pratāparudra Deva, but a staunch champion of the doctrine of Čūnya as inculcated by the Mādhyamika philosophy.

From the contemporary events of the times of Rājā Pratāparudra we glean that jealousies of the Brāhmaṇa-Paṇḍits and persecutions by the king soon turned the court into a bed of thorns for Balarāma Dāsa who, in consequence, retired not only from it but from society altogether. This swelling tide of persecution soon drove the Bāthuris or Bāuris and other kindred tribes into dense jungles and tractless forests. This point has, however, been already dealt with at some length in connection with our treatment of the

* Sterling's *Orissa*, (Edition of 1904) pp. 80—81.

Bāthuri tribe ; so we content ourselves here with only a passing reference. It will now, we hope, become clear after our repeated quotations from the writings of Balarāma Dāsa, that the sole burden of his religious and poetical effusions was the doctrine of the Great Void, as promulgated by Nāgārjuna and forming the nucleus of the Māhīyamika philosophy. In his works on Advaita philosophy Çaukara tried to refute the doctrine of Çūnya and to establish in its place that of Brahman ; while Balarāma Dāsa, though largely borrowing from the Vedānta, went against the Advaitavādīns and advocated the cause of the Great Void. Now, we presume, on the strength of these facts that Balarāma Dāsa was really a veiled follower of Buddhism, or a Vaiṣṇava-Buddhist.

In the last chapter of his Gupta-Gītā, Balarāma Dāsa discloses the central idea that regulated his whole life—although indeed it is apparent in every line of his writings, if one would but look for it. Thus he says :—

“Again Arjuna asked Vāsudeva to tell him the particulars about the Gupta-Gītā, as there were some who thought that it would again be published in the world, (1). Çrī Hari replied, “Here then O Arjuna,—In the twenty-seventh anka of king Mukunda Deva, there will live a man named Çani Paṭanāyaka (2-3). The servant of the meek and humble will call on him and blessing him will sit by his side (4). Seeing him carry the Gupta Gītā under his armpit, Paṭanāyaka will address him thus (5), ‘What book is there under your armpit and why do you travel about with it? (6) We are anxious to learn the truths that are discussed in it. So be pleased, Ye Dāsa, to tell us these wise instructions.’ (7). Dāsa said,

"It is Gupta-Gītā.—Listen to me, if you are curious." (8). He will just open the book, write Om, touch it with his hand and placing under it a circle or Çūnya-maṇḍala, explain to him its meaning (9-10). as consisting of the three letters अ, उ and म with हं, म and ल (11). The ṣaṭ-chakras (the six mystic circles) are placed in the Om; and inside that are the fourteen worlds. (12). When he will learn thus far of the Gītā, his curiosity and eagerness will much increase; (13). and he will ask "Is there anything beyond this? Be pleased to tell me again—I want to know something more. (14). This Gītā, so highly pleasant and interesting, is a sealed book. So I am anxious to hear it from your lips :'' (15) Hearing him thus, Dāsa will delight his soul by saying, (16). 'It was I myself who wrote this Gītā in the previous birth. But then only the first chapter was done. (17). I shall, however, go on telling you the whole Gītā now. So be all attention.' (18). Upon these words, I thought within myself, highly pleased with his great devotion, "I shall enter his heart and inspire him with the knowledge of the Gītā. (20). Balarāma Dāsa will give that out in words; and (the book thus composed) will be complete in thirty-five chapters." (21). But including the previous one, Balarām Dāsa dealt exhaustively with it in thirty-six chapters. (22). Hearing him Çani Paṭnāyaka, with his three sons, worship him and become his disciples." (23). (Gupta Gītā, Chap. 36.)¹

¹ "पुनि ऋजुं न वासुदेवे पुक्कुर गुपन कल विचार ।

कै उ भावे पुनः गुपतगीता जे संसारे हेव प्रचार ॥ १

औ इरि बोडले गुण ऋजुं न ।

मुकुन्ददेव बलि राजन ॥ २

सेहि राजार ससाइस षडे ।

देवर्त्ता शनि पटनायके ॥ ४

After this there can be no room for doubt that Balarāma Dāsa had, as his mystic symbol, the words, “Om, Āṇya maṇḍalāya namaḥ” (Om, adoration to the great circular void). Gaṇeṣa-vibhūti is the name of his another work. In an old commentary on it, entitled *Siddhānta-dambara*, by the author himself, the mystic symbol is given in the words “Om Āṇya Brahmanē namaḥ” (Om, adoration to the formless Brahman). Although differently expressed, the two symbols refer but to one and the same thing. And it goes without saying that the idea underlying these mystic symbols is also the cardinal doctrine of the Mahāyāna Buddhists.

ताहाकु मेटिव दीनङ्क दासे ।	कलगाण करिव वसिच पासे ॥ ४
गुपतगीता अथा थिव काखे ।	ताहु पवारिवे पटनाएके ॥ ५
कि पुस्तक दासे अछि काखरे ।	फेड़ि पुथि दासे कहवि थरे ॥ ६
आम्हे गुण किना कि कि रहस ।	दासे बीडले ज्ञान उपदेश ॥ ७
गुपतगीता अथाय अट्ट ।	श्रीता जेवे हेव गुण कहइ ॥ ८
प्रथमे पुथि फेड़िण कहिवे ।	ओङ्कार छापि हात मारि देवे ॥ ९
शून्यमण्डलः तातले देइ ।	ताहाकु दासे कहिवे भेदाइ ॥ १०
अकार उकार मकार तिन ।	इंकार मकार लकार घेनि ॥ ११
ओङ्कार मधे षड्वक्त्र स्थान ।	तथि भितरे चौह भुवन ॥ १२
से गीता अध्याक युष्मिना जहु ।	रक्षा माङ्गर वड़िला ठहु ॥ १३
एतिक गीता कि अधिक अछि ।	फेड़ि कह किना गुणिया किछि ॥ १४
ए ये गुपत महारसगीता ।	आपन कहइ इण श्रीता ॥ १५
ताहाङ्क वचन गुणिय दासे ।	प्रश्न करिवे ता भासा पासे ॥ १६
पूर्व जन्म आम्ह ए गीता कला ।	प्रथम अध्यासिना होइथिला ॥ १७
एवे आम्हे गीता कहिवा रहि ।	तुम्हे गुण किना यवण देइ ॥ १८
से पुथि मोर हामुरे जणाइ ।	अनेक भक्तिरे प्रसन्न होइ ॥ १९
सु तार हदरे पशिवि जाइ ।	गीता ताहाङ्क देउथिवि कहि ॥ २०
तेण कहिव बलराम दास ।	पञ्चविंश अध्या इइव शेष ॥ २१
पूर्व अध्या घेनि क्विंश सरि ।	बलराम दास कहि बिसारि ॥ २२
गुणिय शनि पठनायक ।	तिन पुत घेनि करि सेवक ॥

(गुप्तगीता २६ अध्याय ।)

Similarly, Achyutānanda was also a follower of esoteric Buddhism, though openly professing Vaiṣṇavism. Thus, in spite of his profession as a follower of Cṛī Chaitanya and disciple of Sanātana Gosvāmin, he incurred the severe displeasure and open hostility of the Brāhmaṇa Paṇḍitas of the court of Rājā Pratāparudra for his openly upholding the doctrine of the Cūnya before that very monarch. To this he thus refers in his Cūnya Saṁhitā.—

“Pratāparudra Deva urged me strongly, and pressure was also brought to bear upon me in the temple. I was asked ‘Hear me, O Dāsa, tell me from what *mantra* your *bhajana-mantra* is derived. Of Anāma (the nameless), Nāma (the name), the Kāmavijas, and the revolving in mind of the twenty-four-worded Gāyatrī, tell me which one is your favourite; and furnish me, O Dāsa, with a clear exposition thereof.’ The ingenious arguments put forward by the Brāhmaṇas though fallacious made the king dubious in mind. He added, ‘The Brāhmaṇas are known to be well acquainted with the mantras. They are supposed to possess Brahmajñāna and to know the mantras and the rules laid down in the Cāstras. These Brāhmaṇas have urged me strongly to ask you to explain without delay, and clearly and lucidly, the worship of the Cūnya.’ Then, there, in a clearly visible place, I put down the thirty-two letters in the following manner. Nāma was placed under the Anāma, and thus was Kāmavija written. The five classes (of consonants) and the twelve mātṛās were placed; and also the *yantra* was drawn and placed there. Having seen this the Brāhmaṇas were thunderstruck, and said ‘Yes, Dāsa, you know the real truth and the underlying import of things. The knowledge of truth and reality is very abstruse and mysterious. Therefore

do speak to us of *tattva* clearly and lucidly. You have indeed placed very mysterious words before us, writing Anāma, Nāma and the Kāmaviṣas and Om in a descending series. This is strange and has never been observed before, and is in reality such as has never been mentioned in the Purāṇas. Where have you learnt this, O Dāsa, and who are they that worship according to this? And who is there that worship Nāma? Conversant with all these *tattvas*, as you seem to be, be pleased to explain this to us.' Thus the Brāhmaṇas did urge me very strongly. The king also again said to me 'Hear me, O Dāsa, You have drawn the *yantra*. Now be pleased to tell us the *mantra*, and the manner in which you perform your worship with that *mantra*. Furnish me (in short) with a clear exposition of all these.' Hearing again this peremptory request of the king, I felt rather distressed in mind and said 'Hear then O King, my *mantra* is *nirākāra* and I worship the Ānyā. Āsanaṣuddhi (purification of the seat) and Anṅanyāsa (the touching of certain parts of the body as enjoined by the Āstras) are not needed, nor have Sthānabhāṅga and Dikbandhana to be observed. One has to sit in Ānyā and worship, to destroy death and go to Golaka (the place of eternal bliss). The subject of this worship is only Nāma. Because, where is there anything beyond it? Then 'What does this Dāsa say?' saying this the Brāhmaṇas sprang up and prepared to go away. They said further 'Let the king have a test of how the worship of the Ānyā is to be performed. Even here this Dāsa must submit to this examination.' Again one of the Brāhmaṇas smiled and said 'Let him be dropped down into the waters of a well and let's see how he draws his *yantra* there and worships his Ānyā.' Thus confusion and disorder reigned there. The king

forgot all about the *mantra* and was carried away by the desire for examining me. When thus confusion and disorder prevailed, the God of the ocean of mercy took compassion on me. The Brāhmaṇas set up a loud uproar and none cared to examine my *mantra*. Knowing that if what the Lord has made a secret of, were to be revealed by the king, there would be no end of the terrible difficulties and dangers that would beset him, my mind was rather set at rest by this confusion. But the Great Lord who is the healer of all troubled hearts again spread a confusion (amongst the Brāhmaṇas). At this time when there was a loud clamour, the King took me by the hand and went away to the widest street. Even here the crowd mustered so strong that there was a loud uproar arising from the people elbowing one another.

“The king said ‘Now commence your worship just here near the empty well at Bāṅkimuhānā. Let these Brāhmaṇas see you submit to an examination of your secret worship before us.’ Upon this I was greatly afraid in mind. I then drew my mind away from the numberless people around me, placed the thirty-two letters upon my heart and sitting straight up from the navel became absorbed in meditation. Then with upturned face, I annihilated the mind and concentrated myself upon the idea of the Nirākāra. Having thus lifted life up, I was soon sitting in the void and lost in the idea of Paramahansa. The king was startled to see this and the Brāhmaṇas were thunderstruck. They were pondering in silence—who it is that has thus revealed the unrevealed!—Having seen all this the king became convinced, and mildly and sweetly said “Come, come Dāsa.” He then embraced me and I was pleased to hear these reassuring words, ‘Hear me,

Achyuta Dāsa. Go and live near Bāṅkimuhānā. It is because the name of Achyuta or Inseparable was not disgraced that the worship of Nirākāra Ṣūnya was made possible. Certainly it is a deep mystery and the manner in which you have explained it has much pleased me.' The king then went away from there, and the Brāhmaṇas thus greatly mortified and humiliated could say nothing. Thus we five* came out of the great and difficult ordeal we were made to undergo and we got a good and secluded place where we plunged into the meditation of Ṣūnya."¹

* The five are Achyuta Dāsa, Balarāma Dāsa, Jagannātha Dāsa, Yacovanta Dāsa and Ananta Dāsa.

- 1 "प्रतापरुद्र देव कटालिला । देउने बहुत आकट हेला ॥
 वोइले दासे शुण मोह ठारु । भजनमन्त्र केउं मन्त्र ठारु ॥
 अनाम नाम कामवौजमान । गाइवी चव्विशाचर भजन ॥
 केउं मन्त्र गीठि इष्ट तुम्हर । कह देखि दासे तत्त्व विचार ॥
 ब्राह्मणे अति चलाइ कहिले । राजन मनकु चञ्चल कले ॥
 थोके ब्राह्मणे मन्त्रे प्रसिद्धि । जानलि ब्रह्मज्ञान-मन्त्र-विधि ॥
 बहुत कटाल कले सो ठारे । अच्युतदासे कह हे सत्तरे ॥
 साक्षाते पाये मोने कहि देले । शून्यभजन कहतु वोइले ॥
 से ठारु हृष्टा हेले मने वेनु । हाविंशाचर स्थापिलि मु तेणु ॥
 अनामतले नामकु देइण । कामवौज ओमिति कि लेखिण ॥
 पञ्चवर्ग वार सावा देइण । यन्त्रे लेखि करिनुं स्थापन ॥
 देखि ब्राह्मणे हेले पाचस्वित । वोइले दास जाण तत्त्व अर्थ ॥
 बेले बेले दाम कहइ तत्त्व । तत्त्वबोध दाम अति गुप्त ॥
 गहण कथा स्थापिलात तुम्हे । कह दासे देखि शुणिमा आम्हे ॥
 अनाम नाम कामवौजमान । ओंकार स्थापि तहिं तले पुण ॥
 एत असम्भव अलख्य कथा । पुराण ग्रन्थे शुणिवाहुं यथा ॥
 काहुं शिखिले दासे इहा पुणि । एहाकु केउं भजनरे पुणि ॥
 केउं भजन अटे नामर । तत्त्व बोधा दासे कह निकर ॥
 बहुत कटाल ब्राह्मणे कले । राजन कामुरे पुनि कहिले ॥
 राजन वोइले शुण हे दासे । यन्त्र स्थापिल मन्त्र कह तोषे ॥

The doctrines of the Āgama as discussed above are akin to those which obtain amongst the Buddhists of Nepal even now. The nature and meaning of the "Great Void" will be understood from the explanation given by Mr. Hodgson on the authority of the Buddhist scriptures of Nepal:—

"Mahā-Āgama is, according to some, Svabhāva and according to others Īvara. It is

किरूपे ए मन्त्र भजन कर ।	कह दासे देखि एहि विचार ॥
पुणि शुणि राजा कटाल कला ।	शुणि मी मने सङ्कट पडिला ॥
बोइलि तुम्हे शुण हे राजन ।	मन्त्रनिराकार शून्यभजन ॥
आसनगुडि बङ्गन्यास नाहि ।	स्थानभङ्ग दिक्बन्धन नाहि ॥
शून्यरे वसि भजन करिव ।	कालकु नाशि गोलकरे ठाव ॥
ए भजन नाम अटइ एहि ।	एथुं अधिक आउ पुन काहि ॥
ब्राह्मणे शुणि चलिण उत्रिले ।	दासे कि कहन्ति वलि बोइले ॥
बोइले ये दासे शून्यभजन ।	राजन एहा करन्तु प्रच्छिन्न ॥
शून्यभजन किरूपे करिवे ।	दासे परीचा एहि ठारे देवे ॥
एक ब्राह्मण बोइलेक हसि ।	कूप कि वाम्पि याइण निरसि ॥
देखिवा दामङ्ग शून्यभजन ।	किरूपे यन्त्रकु कलि स्थापन ॥
एमले कहले धन्दोल हिला ।	मन्त्र हाडि राजा परीचे भीला ॥
गोल धन्दोल एमले लागिला ।	कृपा-जल-निधि करुणा थिला ॥
गोले ब्राह्मणे मानि रहिले ।	मन्त्र प्रच्छिन्न केहिणे करिले ॥
से ठाह मन होइला उसत ।	जानिलि प्रभु कलित गुप्त ॥
राजन येवे प्रच्छिन्न करन्ता ।	त्रिपद आपद माडि पडन्ता ॥
महाप्रभु से आरतभञ्जन ।	आणि धन्दोल लगाइले पुन ॥
एमले पहरि गोल लागिला ।	राजन मोते धरि वेणि गला ॥
बड्ढाण्डरेत होइला नील ।	ठेलाटेलि लोके अति गइल ॥
बाङ्गिमुहाणि शून्य-वाम्पि ठारे ।	भजन कर दासे एहि ठारे ॥
देखन्तु येतेक ए डिजवर ।	प्रच्छिन्ने परीचा आम्ह कामुर ॥
शुणि मी मनरे लागिला भय ।	अनन्त मुरति कलिमु लय ॥
हाविंश अचर हरे स्थापिल ।	नाभि परे वसि ध्यान मुं कलि ॥
ऊर्द्धमुख करि कलिमु लय ।	निराकार रूप कलिमु ध्याय ॥
प्राण ऊर्द्ध करि शून्य रहिलि ।	परमहंसे चित्त वृदाइलि ॥

like the ethereal expanse, and self-sustained. In that Mahā-Çūnyatā, the letter A, with the Vija Mantra of Upāya and the chief of all the Vija Mantras of the letters, became manifest.”
(Rakṣābhagavatī.)

“He whose image is Çūnaytā, who is like a cypher or point, infinite, unsustained (in Nivṛtti), and sustained (in Pravṛtti) whose essence is (Nivṛtti), of whom all things are forms (in Pravṛtti), who is the Īçvara, the first intellectual essence, the Ādi Buddha, was revealed by his own will. This self-existent is he whom all know as the true Being; and, though the state of Nivṛtti be his proper and enduring state, yet for the sake of Pravṛtti (creation), having become Pancha-jñānātmikā, he produced the five Buddhas thus:—from Suviçuddha-dharmadhātujajñāna, Vairochana, the supremely wise, from whom proceed the element of Ākāśa, the organ of sight and colours; and from Adarcana-jñāna, Akṣobhya, from whom proceed the element of air, the organ of hearing and all sound; and from Pratyavekṣaṇa-jñāna, Ratna-sambhava, from whom proceed the element of fire, the organ of smell, and all odours; and from Çāntajñāna, Amitābha, from

देखिण राजन हेलं चकित ।
योके आचम्वित रहिले ।
राजन देखिण परते गले ।
कोले करिण करे आलिङ्गन ।
गुण आम्ह बाणी अचुतदास ।
अचुत नाम चत नहे येण ।
अतिहि गुपय अचुतदास ॥
से ठारु राजन चलितु गने ।
एमन् प्रकारे पञ्चजनकु ।
प्रहस्र परम स्थान पाइलु ।

ब्राह्मणे देखि होइला स्थगित ॥
गुपत प्रघट केअवा कले ॥
दासे आस बलि चाटु कहिले ॥
कहि तोषिले आश्वास वचन ॥
वाङ्मिसुहाणे कर ये निवास ॥
निराचार शून्यमजन तेण ॥
तत्त्वबोध दास अति हरष ॥
लाजे ब्राह्मणे किकि न कहिले ॥
कटाल कला ये आम्हमानक ॥
निरालम्ब ध्याने निमग्न हेलु ॥”

whom proceed the element of water, the organ of taste and all savours; and from Kṛtyanuṣṭha-jñāna, Amoghasiddha, from whom proceed the element of earth, the organ of touch, and all the sensible properties of outward things dependent thereon. All these five Buddhas are Pravr̥tti-karmānas, or the authors of creation. And these five Buddhas each produced a Bodhisattva. The five Bodhisattvas are *Sristi-karmānas* or the immediate agents of creation; and each, in his turn having become *Sarvaguna*, produced all things by his feat. . . .

“Çūnyatā, or the total abstraction of phænomenal properties, is the result of the total suspension of nature’s activity. It is the *Ubi*, and the modus, of the universal material principal in its proper and enduring state of *nivṛtti* or of rest. It is not nothingness, except with the sceptical few. The opposite of Çūnyatā is *Avidyā* which is the mundane affection of the universal principle, or the universal principle in a state of activity; in other words, it represents phænomenal entities or the sum of phænomena, which are regarded as wholly unreal, and hence their existence is ascribed to ignorance or *Avidyā*.”*

This interpretation holds good equally in the cases of the crypto-Buddhists of Utkal, outwardly professing the Vaiṣṇava creed, and of the Buddhist Newars. The theory of the void is identical with that of an all-pervading Brahman as will be seen from the above quotation. Needless to say that this theory belongs to the Mahāyāna school.

* Hodgson’s Nepal, p. 71, 75, 105.

Five Visnus
or
Five Dhyani
Buddhas.

In his work on Viṣṇu-garbha Chaitanya Dāsa was the first to raise the question—"People in general know only of one Viṣṇu. How then are we to account for the belief in five more?" And then he attempts at a solution of the question, as will be found from the following long extract* :—

"He is an invisible, imperceptible being, devoid of all forms and colours. He has no dwelling place and is in reality the Mahā-Çūnya. 199. Destitute of all forms and colours, his body is all formless, and mixed up with Çūnya he is as good as Çūnya. 200. It was beyond the power of any one to describe his form and colour when he assumed these. Even the Veda-Brahma failed to sing his glories. 201. He was formless and colourless, and even amongst the millions of gods there was none comparable with him. One might search throughout the fourteen universes yet one would not be able to find his equal. 202. Nowhere is his equal to be found—so great is the greatness and glory of Alekha. 203. One and the same with Çūnya, he is himself all Çūnya and Çūnya is his form. And identified with Çūnya he is pervading all space. 204.

* "अगोचर पुरुष से नाहि रूपवर्ण ।
एथिति नाहि तार अटे महाशून्य ॥ १९९
रूपवर्ण न हीरे से अरूप तार देहि ।
शून्य सङ्गति से शून्य हीरे धाई ॥ २००
देह वर्ण हृदय के कहिव रूपवर्ण ।
याहार सहसा बखानि न पारन्ति वेवज्जल ॥ २०१
अरूप अवर्ण से लल्य देवाकु न किला उपमा ।
बौद्ध ब्रह्माण्ड खोजिले नाहि प्रतिरोभा ॥ २०२
प्रति तुल्य लल्य से न आसिले कांछि ।
एमन्त सहसा से अलिखर देहि ॥ २०३
शून्य सङ्गति से शून्य शून्य रूपी ।
शून्य सङ्गति मिश्रि अकि सकलखानव्यापी ॥ २०४

Çūnya itself is his dwelling place.' 205. Having heard this from the lips of Çaunaka and others Sanaka had not yet his doubts settled and asked again, 206. "You have spoken, O great and mighty *muni* (sage), of the omniscient origin of all. But the character you have described before me, seems to me to be enveloped in mystery. 207. You say that Alekha is devoid of all forms and colours, that he has no beginning and no end, and that he is in reality Mahāçūnya. 208. How then were the six Viṣṇus born? Be pleased, Ye high-minded sage, to explain this to me. 209. Branches, flowers and fruits are possible only when the tree has its roots; and it rains only after the clouds have been formed. 210. How then can the tree grow without the seed? This is utterly beyond my comprehension. 211. Even after seeds have been sown, trees do not grow without the help of water; and without friction, no fire can

शून्य हिंति ताहार अटइ निज घर ।
 शून्यरे थाइसे शून्य करइ विहार ॥ २०५
 सोनकादिङ्कर सुखे शुणिले ए सनक ।
 पुण्य संग्रथ चिते पुक्का कलिक सनक ॥ २०६
 बाइले महामुनि तुम्हे सर्वज्ञ आदिमूल ।
 केसन चरित्र आम्हर आगे वखानिल ॥ २०७
 बीइल अलिखर नाहि रूपवर्ण ।
 आद्य अन्त नाहि तार अटे महाशून्य ॥ २०८
 षड् विष्णु कांङ्किरु ह्रीइले उतपति ।
 इहा मोते बुझाइ कहिव महामति ॥ २०९
 वल्लरे मूल थिलिसिना डालरे फलि फल ।
 मेघ आरम्भिलिसिना वरसइ जल ॥ २१०
 बीज विना वल्ल ये केसल हेव जात ।
 अनुभव बुद्धिरे नो हुअइ आदि अन्त ॥ २११

be kindled. 212. Hence your assertion that Alekha has no form has raised doubts in my mind. Be pleased somehow to disperse these. 213. (Though Alekha has no form yet) you say that from his body sprang into existence the six Viṣṇus. Of the glories of one I have just now heard. 214. If I can now hear of the respective duties and functions of the remaining five, the doubts of my mind may be set at rest." 215. Upon these words of Sanaka, the sages headed by Çaunaka replied, "The inexplicable glories and greatneses of Alekha cannot (even) be (partially) understood with the help of others. 216. Hear us, O Sanaka, the question that you have raised touches the origin and the end of the māyā of Alekha—which no one can ever know. 217. No one can fully explain his origin and end. No speaker, no words, can express his plays of pleasure. 218. At his own sweet will and pleasure he makes his greatness manifest, and

बीजं वृणो नमो विना अङ्गु न होइ ।
 विना घरषणे काँहि अमल उपजइ ॥ २११
 ए मीहर संशय कथा फेड़ि सीते कह ।
 तुम्है ये बीडल अलेखर नाहि देइ ॥ २१२
 देइरु लन्य षड़ विष्णु जममिले ।
 एक विष्णु महिमा शृणिलुं कर्णमूले ॥ २१३
 आहुरि पञ्च विष्णु कलि कि कि कर्म ।
 तुम्है श्रीमुखर शृणु छाड़ू मन भ्रम ॥ २१४
 सनकवचने ये कहति शीतकादि ।
 अलेखर महिमा ए अगम्य प्रतिनिधि ॥ २१५
 बीडलइ सनक तुम्है पचारिल याहा ।
 आद्य अन्त कहि नुहे अलेखर साया ॥ २१६
 विलार करि कहिवाकु नु हे आदि अन्त ।
 इच्छा सुखे खिलइ ये नाहि ता भाव व्यक्त ॥ २१७

though formless, reveals himself. 219. If he likes he can assume many forms ; and, if it pleases his mind, can create many forms. 220. He plays at pleasure, lives at pleasure and assumes many forms at pleasure. 221. His first and own (real) form is Nirākāra. And from his body the form of Dharma is developed. 222. Then he becomes imagination personified and begins to create ; and then again he diverts himself by assuming the form of the good of the world. 223. Hear, Sanaka, of the glories of Alekha. We shall describe to you the attributes and qualities that qualify him. 224. His body, itself devoid of all colours, developed the six colours of white, yellow, red, orange, waterfalls and cloud. And out of these six colours were the six Viṣṇus born. 225,-226. One of these Viṣṇus was located by Alekha in the eastern Cūnya, one in the western, one in the southern

इच्छा सुखे ताद्वार महिमा विकासइ ।
 अरूप होइ करिले स्वरूप प्रकाशइ ॥ १९८
 इच्छा होइले से अनेक रूप धरे ।
 इच्छा होले मन तार अनेक रूप करे ॥ १९९
 इच्छा सुखे खिलइ से इच्छा सुखे रहै ।
 इच्छा होले अनेक से रूपमान होये ॥ २००
 प्रथमे निराकार स्वरूपक होइ ।
 धर्म स्वरूप होइ तार अङ्ग प्रकाशइ ॥ २०१
 कल्पना पुरुष होइ पुनि सृष्टि करे जात ।
 शिव स्वरूप होइ पुण खिलइ जगत ॥ २०२
 गुणइ सनक तुम्हि अलेख महिमा ।
 तुम्ह भागे शुके कहिवाकु गुणसीमा ॥ २०३
 अवर्ण अङ्ग तार वर्ण प्रकाशिला ।
 श्वेत पीत खीरित कुङ्कुम चारिकला ॥ २०४
 जलधर गिम्हरक एमन्ते षड् वर्ण ।
 ए षड् वर्णरु षड् बिष्णु होला जन्म ॥ २०५

and one in the northern. 227-228. These four Çūnyas are called four Nirākāras; and these Viṣṇus are located in reality just as described here.

* * * *

Having reached the upper Çūnya he became unconscious in the sleep of Yoga and there did spring from him the Brahmās, 229-230. Having been thus born these gods created the universe consisting of the twenty-one regions of Alekha and the nine parts of the world. 231.

“Each of these universes was an independent entity and for each of these one Brahmā with his colleagues was created. 233. Having been born, each set of these gods again created a universe, consisting of the twenty-one regions of Alekha and the nine parts of the world. 234. And thus the Brahmās with their subordinates created three Brahmāṇḍas.

पूर्वे शून्ये एक विष्णुः स्थापितः ।
 पश्चिम शून्ये एक विष्णुः कृतः ॥ २२७
 दक्षिण शून्ये लेशः कृतः विष्णु एकः ।
 उत्तर शून्ये एक विष्णुः कृतः अलिख ॥ २२८
 चारि शून्ये चारि वीलाः निराकारः ।
 तत्त्वं यावद् अनुकूले कलितं विहारः ॥ २२९
 उपर शून्ये पञ्चकिले ये योगनिद्रा गले ।
 तादात्म्यं तद् ब्रह्मामाने जातं हिले ॥ २३०
 जातं होइ ब्रह्मामाने रचितं ब्रह्माण्ड ।
 एकदश पुर अलिख पृथी नवखण्ड ॥ २३१
 देवभाग नर जे चारिखानि लिखा ।
 ब्रह्माण्डपालन आदि येमल यँहि शाखा ॥ २३२
 एक ब्रह्माण्डमानन्द पति पति तुले ।
 तादात्म्यं तद् ब्रह्मामाने जातं हिले ॥ २३३
 जातं होइ ब्रह्मामाने रचितं ब्रह्माण्ड ।
 एकदश पुर अलिख पृथी नवखण्ड ॥ २३४

“These are known to none but Alekha. 236. The Alekha puruṣa is present everywhere, yet none knows where and what he is, and where and what he is not. 237. Once upon a time one of the Brahmās boasted, “It was I who created the whole universe.” 238. Another thought within himself, “It was I who created the world with all the movable and immovable things in it.” 242. Again another boasted “It was I and none else that was the creator.” And thus the four Brahmās created the four Viṣṇus who are placed in the four worlds of Deva, man and serpent. 245. Upon this Sanaka looked upon the faces of Āunaka and his companions and said “O my lord, what an impossible thing it is that you have just said to me. 245. I have heard of the glories of four Āṇyās from your lips. And at the time of creation, you say, four

एक ब्रह्माष्ट मानद्वर एक एक तुलं ।
 से तिन ब्रह्माष्ट ब्रह्माने सृष्टि कलि ॥ १४५
 काद्वार गोचरे एमान मनभेद नाहि ।
 सबद्वार गोचर एक अलिख जानइ ॥ १४६
 अलिख पुरुष ये सब ठारे ठानि ।
 ताद्वार भेदाभेद ये कहि न जाननि ॥ १४७
 एक ब्रह्मा बीडखा सु सृष्टि कलि जात ।
 मोद्वार रचनासिना अटइ जगन ॥ १४८
 * * * * *
 एकब्रह्मा कहिले मने गणि ।
 चराचर करि सु ये रचिलि धरणी ॥ १४९
 पुनि एक ब्रह्मा विचारइ मने ।
 सु सृष्टि कर्ता सो तुहु अन्य नहि जने ॥ १५०
 एहि रूपे चारि ब्रह्मा चारि विष्णु कलि ।
 देव नर नाग चारिखानि भियाइलि ॥ १५१
 सनक बोइलि शैलकादि मुख चाहि ।
 असम्भव कथा नीते कहिला गोसांइ ॥ १५२

Brahmās were born in the four Çūnyas. 246. But the world knows of only one Brahmā and one Viṣṇu; and this has again been confirmed by the four Vedas. 247. How then do you say that there are four Brahmās who are the four Nirākāras and who from the four directions of the Çūnya created the universe? 248. This sounds impossible—so much so that even though I have heard the story with my own ears, yet in my mind I am not yet convinced. 249. I do therefore request you to be so good again as to explain this clearly to me.’ Hearing him, Çaunaka and his companions said 250. “Hear Śanaka of the illusive tricks of Alekha—of the innumerable colours and forms that he has assumed. 251. The glories of that Alekha are always manifest—know that they have no beginning, no middle, no end. 252. We shall try to tell you as clearly as we can of the origin and the end of him from whom have the countless Brahmāṇḍas sprung.

चारिशून्यर महिमा शुणिलि तुम्ह मुखे ।
 चारिशून्ये चारिब्रह्मा जन्मिलि सृष्टिकल्प ॥ २४६
 एक ब्रह्मा एक विशु जानन्ति जगते ।
 पुणि लिखा हइला से चारि वेदपथि ॥ २४७
 तुम्हि कि प्राय वोइला चारि ब्रह्मा चारि निराकार ।
 चारिदिक शून्यरे से रचिलि संसार ॥ २४८
 एकथा असम्भव लागिला कीमते ।
 कर्णरे शुणि मने न जाइ परते ॥ २४९
 एधर चरित मोते फेड़ि कह सन्धि ।
 सनक वचन शुणि बलन्ति शोनकादि ॥ २५०
 शुणत सनकहि अलिखर माया ।
 काहि केते रूप सखियहि काया ॥ २५१
 से अलिखर सकल महिमा सन्मान ।
 आद्य मध्य अन्त तार नाहि वीलि जान ॥ २५२

But none can know fully the majesty and greatness of him who is infinite and indefinable and who is above all similarities and differences. 253-254. The greatness of Alekha as described by the Vedas may be compared to the fish in the ocean. And just as when a stone is thrown down, the ocean only knows how it goes but the fish knows nothing of it, so Brahmā and the other gods know but little of the glory and greatness of Alekha. Brahmā speaks only of what he himself has created. 255-257. Again, Viṣṇu cannot say whence he sprang; and the Vedas do speak only of one Brahmā and one Viṣṇu. 258. . . 259; while they speak only an iota of the greatness of Alekha, because they cannot ascertain and measure his glory. 260. * * * * There are

अनन्त कीटि ब्रह्माण्ड याहार गर्भजात ।
 के सन्धि करि कहिव ताहारि आदि अन्त ॥ २५३
 अशेष शेष नाहि याहार भेदाभेद ।
 ताहार सहिसाकु नाहि काहार भेदाभेद ॥ २५४
 वेदर सहिसा से जलर जेहे मीन ।
 जेते दूर थाए जल पखुर मान तेन ॥ २५५
 तेते दूर बाराता जानइ जलवर ।
 आल ताहाडु तेनिकि दिशइ अन्धकार ॥ २५६
 सहि रूपि ब्रह्मासने एकथा जानन्ति ।
 ब्रह्मा थाहा सृजि थाहि से वारता वर्णन्ति ॥ २५७
 पुन विष्णु न वर्णि काहेरु जन्म होइ ।
 एक ब्रह्मा एक विष्णु सहिसा वेद कहि ॥ २५८
 आवर कहि वेद अवतार विष्णुनाम कर गुण ।
 सृष्टि शुभाशुभ जेतक पाठेन ॥ २५९
 अलेखर सहिसा पुन किछि किछि कहन्ति ।
 निर्णय करि सहिसा वखानि न पारन्ति ॥ २६०

many scriptures and many other works on the subject but in none of these is to be found any definition of Alekha. 265. But in the Viṣṇugarbha Purāṇa there is an exhaustive account of his glories and greatnesses, though these have no beginning and no end and are really indefinable. 266. The four Çūnya Nirākāras, developed into forms and from these produced Brahmās. 267. * * * Again Sanaka turned his eyes towards Çaunaka and the rest and said "Would you again be pleased to tell me the doings of Viṣṇu? If I hear it from your lips, my doubts will disappear. 271-272. Be pleased to tell me clearly the natures of the various attributes and qualities that were manifested by him when he laid himself down on water." 273. Çaunaka and others replied, "Hear, O Sanaka, we shall give an account of the greatnesses and glories of the Viṣṇus. 274. The sea of milk is in the east. in the west is

अनेक शास्त्र ये अनेक ग्रन्थमान ।
 ए ये नाहि अलिखर निर्णय वचन ॥ २६५
 विष्णुगर्भपुराणे अहि अलिखमहिमा ।
 अल करि न हि तार आदि अल सोमा ॥ २६६
 आकार शून्य चारि निराकार इला ।
 ताहार अङ्ग पुन ब्रह्मान जात कला ॥ २६७

* * * * *

सनक कहलि शौनक मुख चाहि ॥ २७१
 आवार वेनि विष्णुचरित मोते कह ।
 तब मुख गुणिलि फिटिब सन्देह ॥ २७२
 कि कि मान सम्पद से कैल जलशायी ।
 ताहार चरित्र मान कहिव बुझइ ॥ २७३
 शौनकादि बौद्धले तुम्हे शण्डे सनक ।
 से विष्णुमानङ्गर महिमा परिधाद ॥ २७४

the sea of water ; and in the south-sea there are other varieties of water 275. Dwelling on the shores of each of the seas, they received, each of them, seven names. 276. They were then divided and separated from one another each as a whole in itself. Again did they however receive the appellation of Sapta Sindhu (seven seas). 277. Then having laid themselves down on the seas, the four Nirākāras became unconscious in the sleep of Yoga. 278. Meditating upon the Ātman, they became absorbed in the dhyāna of Alekha, whose form was before their vision. 279. To perform different functions innumerable Visnus were born from the hairs on their bodies. 280. In the upper Ātman was Viṣṇu placed and given the name of Vaikuṇṭhanātha. 281. One Nirākāra was taken to and located in the Chandra Ātman ; his glories are utterly unknowable. 282. He

पूर्वमुखे चौर सिन्धु पथिमे जलद ।
 दक्षिण समुद्रते प्रति अम्बुभेद ॥ २७५
 एक एक सिन्धुकूले कले परिणाम ।
 तेहु करि हल साताङ्क त सात नाभ ॥ २७६
 एक एक पुराण करि रखिले भाग करि ।
 पुन नाम रखिले सप्त सिन्धु बोलि ॥ २७७
 समुद्रमान करि आसनमान कलि ।
 चारि निराकार तहि योग निद्रा गलि ॥ २७८
 आत्माध्यान करि सिद्धि अलिख ध्याने रहि ।
 नयन अग्रे रूप प्रकाश कराइ ॥ २७९
 ताहाङ्कर रोमरु अनेक विष्णुजात ।
 कार्य अनुकूपे से होयनि आत्मजात ॥ २८०
 उपर शून्य एक विष्णुङ्क थापिला ।
 बैकुण्ठनाथ बोलि तार नाम दिखी ॥ २८१
 चन्द्र शून्य किङ्क बुझला एक निराकार ।
 ताहार महिमा मान अति अगोचर ॥ २८२

dwells permanently in the sea of nectar and of him all the Viṣṇus are but emanations. 283.

But, we hope, a little close observation will convince any one that the five extra Viṣṇus referred to here are but identical with the five Dhyāni-Buddhas spoken of in the Buddhistic Scriptures of Nepal. In this manuscript we are told that in the beginning there was only the Great Void (Mahāçūnya) the five elements being non-existent; there existed only the formless, attributeless, self-existent Viṣṇu as the primordial cause. He brought into existence the universe, and in course of time a desire to do good to this universe possessed his heart. Though really formless, he did now assume a form and was denominated Dharma. At the instant of his conceiving the desire of creation, five forms *i.e.* beings were produced who were also called Viṣṇus. They were white, blue, yellow, red and green. Thus including Mahā-viṣṇu (the primordial cause) there were now six Viṣṇus in all. The subordinate five were placed in charge of the different celestial regions—thus, one in the east, one in the west, one in the north and one in the south, and the remaining one in the upper celestial region, where he became deeply absorbed in Dhyāna. And from his body each of the Viṣṇus, again, produced, in his turn, a Brahmā, and to each of these Brahmās was delegated the power and function of creating the universe. After the subordinate five Viṣṇus had created the Brahmās, they lost themselves in the meditation of the Mahāçūnya. The Viṣṇu who was placed in charge of the

upper celestial region was known as the Lord of Vaikuṇṭha.

The description of creation as given above by Chaitanya Dāsa is essentially different from what is found in the Brāhmanic scriptures. The cosmogony discussed in the above text is exactly what has been propounded by the Mahāyāna Buddhists in their religious works. Let us now try to discuss and explain the subject more fully.

In reply to the question 'How and when was the world created?' the Mahāyānists affirm that in the beginning there was nothing but Svayambhū who is self-existent. Him they call Ādi Buddha. In the beginning he created, "for the duration of the present systems of worlds," the Pañcha Dhyāni-Buddhas. This theory of creation is exactly what is to be found in Chaitanya Dāsa's work, 'Viṣṇugarbha.' The worship of Ādi Buddha and of the five Dhyāni Buddhas is still prevalent in Nepal. The following extract from Dr. Oldfield's *Sketches from Nipal* will throw more light on the subject:—

"The Theistic system of Buddhism teaches that one universal, all powerful, and immaterial spirit has existed from before the commencement of time, and that it will pervade the universe throughout all eternity. This Spirit is God. He is possessed of supreme power, and is endowed with supreme intelligence, and is, therefore, called Ādi Buddha.

* * * * *

"The majority of the Theistic Schools believe that while Ādi Buddha represents supreme intelligence, or mind, there is associated with, and forming part of Him, yet at the same time

totally distinct form Him, another Being, divine and eternal, who represents *Matter*, and who is the sum of all the active powers of the material universe. This Being or Spirit they call Ādi Dharma or Ādi Prajñā.

“These two divine Principles or Spirits, by their union and joint operation form the One Supreme Being, who not only originated the universe, and has since preserved it, but who, by an act of His Will, called into being the celestial deities or Buddhas, as well as the lesser Hindu deities, all of whom are looked upon as emanations, more or less directly derived, from this Supreme Intelligence or Ādi Buddha. He is called sometimes Svayambhū or the Self-Existent.”*

“Ādi Buddha is believed ever to be, and ever to have been, in a state of perfect repose. The only active part which he is represented ever to have taken with reference to the universe was the bringing into being, by five separate acts of creation, the five Divine Buddhas, as emanation from Himself. These Buddhas are called “Divine,” because they spring direct from Ādi Buddha, and they were brought by him into existence merely as instruments through whose agency he might effect the creation of the universe.

“The five Divine Buddhas are ranked in the order in which they were created, 1st, Vairochana; 2nd, Akṣobhya; 3rd, Ratnasambhava; 4th, Amitābha; 5th, Amoghasiddha. They are looked upon as brothers, and in that sense as all holding exactly the same rank; but Vairo-

* Dr. Oldfield's Nipal, Vol. II. pp. 89-90.

chana, as eldest brother, theoretically holds the highest position among them; while Amitābha, the fourth brother,—as father to the Bodhisattva Padmapāni, who is lord of the existing universe,—theoretically receives the greatest amount of worship.

“Each of these Buddhas was empowered by Ādi Buddha to produce a subordinate being or Bodhisattva who stood in relation to the Divine Buddha of son to father, and to whom each Buddha delegated all his divine attributes and powers, and having done so, relapsed, or was reabsorbed into the Great First Cause from which he had originally emanated. They have ever since remained in an eternally quiescent state, and are not believed to take the slightest concern in any mundane affairs.”*

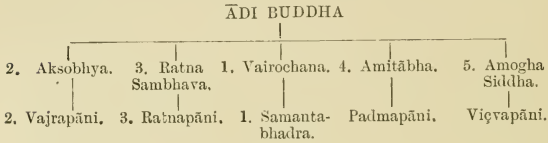
“The Divine Bodhisattvas having been brought into being, by the association of the (Divine) Buddhas with their Çaktis, expressly for the creation and government of the universe, they are looked upon as types of the active and creative powers of Nature.”†

Reading together and comparing the account given in Viṣṇugarbha and the Newar Buddhistic version of creation, we find that the infinite, formless and omniscient Viṣṇu of Chaitanya Dāsa was no other than the Svayambhū or the Ādi Buddha of the Mahāyānist, and the subordinate Viṣṇus or celestial beings, created by Parama Viṣṇu, are but the five Dhyānī Buddhas. Further, the Brahmās produced from their bodies by these lower Viṣṇus, were in reality and essence but the divine Bodhisattvas. We give below what

* Oldfield, Vol. II. pp. 111-112.

† Do. do. p. 115.

may be called a geneological table of the Dhyānī Buddhas and the Bodhisattvas as found in the Buddhistic scriptures of Nepal.



From the above list it will be clear and evident to all that the subject-matter of Chaitanya Dāsa's work was borrowed from the literature of the Mahāyāna Buddhists. The Divine Bodhisattvas were believed by the Mahāyāna School to have been the active authors of creation. "One by one, in succession, they were appointed as creators and governors of the then existing systems of world;"* three of them have since passed away and the present world is the work of the fourth Bodhisattva, Padmapāṇi.

The Hindus regard Buddha as one of the Avatāras of Viṣṇu—an opinion which is also endorsed by the Buddhists of India. In the 10th century A.D. Kṣemendra, a renowned Kashmirian poet and author of the celebrated work 'Avadānakalpalatā' discussed at length the Mahāyāna Buddhism of the day and went so far as to declare Buddha as an Avatāra of Viṣṇu. No wonder therefore that the Vaiṣṇavas of Utkala, who are Buddhists in heart though not so in profession, regard Buddha as Viṣṇu himself and the Bodhisattvas as Brahmās. In the extract from Viṣṇugarbha quoted above we find

* Dr. Oldfield's Nipal, Vol. II. p. 115.

that the author ascribed to the five subordinate Viṣṇus the following five colours—white, yellow, red, blue and green.

We learn from the literature of the Nepal Buddhists that each of the Dhyāni Buddhas also had a separate colour assigned to him. We give below a list of the five Dhyāni Buddhas with their respective colours :—

1. Vairochana	...	...	White
2. Akṣobhya	...	...	Blue
3. Ratnasambhava	...	...	Yellow
4. Amitābha	...	...	Red
5. Amoghasiddha	...	...	Green

And like the author of Viṣṇugarbha who locates these Viṣṇus in different regions of the universe, Buddhist writers also assign to the Dhyāni Buddhas different Bhavanas or particular mansions of the universe.

Svayambhū Purāṇa, named after Svayambhū or Ādi Buddha is an important Buddhistic Scripture of Nepal. We find in it a passage which runs thus—Vairochana was placed in the upper celestial region of the universe, Akṣobhya in the east, Ratna Sambhava in the south, Amitābha in the west and Amoghasiddha in the north.¹ In several of the Chaityas of Nepal also the Dhyāni-Buddhas are assigned the same positions as described here.

¹ “उद्धु * वेरोवनञ्चापि पूर्व्वे अचीम्यमित्यपि ।
दक्षिणे रत्नसम्भवं अमिताभं पश्चिमेऽपि ॥
उत्तरेऽमीघसिद्धिञ्च इतिपञ्चतथागतम् ।”

(A. Society's Edition. pp. 370—371.)

* “मथ्ये” इति पाठान्तरम् ।

yoga and dhyāna, begot his son Yuga. 31-36. And he asked Yuga, 'You are to go immediately, and to come back only after you have created the world.' Upon receiving the orders of his father, Yuga flew away quickly, saying 'I shall return only after I have done your bidding.' But on his way he did thus deliberate, 'If I were to undertake the work of creation, I should not be able to come out after I have seen the pleasures of the world.' So he, too, was greatly afraid to undertake the creation and produced out of his body a son named Nirañjana and said to him 'Go immediately and come back only after you have created the world.' 37-41.

केत कल्ये काल प्रभु हाइए साइले ।
 से हाइ योमुखर पवन जात हेलै ॥ ३१
 उभा होइ पवन जे बीलइ गोंसाइ ।
 कांछि यिवि जात मोते कल कांछि पाइ ॥ ३२
 प्रभु बीइले पवन घातिकारि यिबु ।
 संसार पृथी सृजिण बाहुड़ि आसिबु ॥ ३३
 पिता आज्ञा पाइ से पवन चलि गला ।
 आसिवि संसार सृजि बोलि कहि गला ॥ ३४
 मने विचारिल यदि संसार सृजिवि ।
 देखिण संसारसुख आसि न पारिवि ॥ ३५
 ए संसार सृजिवाकु पवन उरिला ।
 योगध्यान करि युग पुन जात कला ॥ ३६
 युगकु बीइला एहि क्षण यिबु ।
 संसार पृथी सृजिण बाहुड़ि आसिबु ॥ ३७
 पिता आज्ञा युग वेगे चलि गला ।
 आसिवि संसार सृजि बोलि कहि गला ॥ ३८
 वाटे विचारिला मने संसार सृजिवि ।
 देखिण संसार सुख आसि न पारिवि ॥ ३९
 युग पृथी सृजिवाकु महाभय कला ।
 निरञ्जन बोलि पुन देहु जात कला ॥ ४०
 बीइला तु निरञ्जन एहि क्षण यिबु ।
 संसार पृथी सृजिण बाहुड़ि आसिबु ॥ ४१

Having been thus directed by his father Nirañjana did (in reality) go away but was highly afraid to create the world. 42. He could not thus create this world, but begot out of his own person a son named Nirguṇa ; 43. and asked him to go away instantly and to return after finishing the task of the creation. 44. Nirguṇa, too, failed to create the world but produced from his body his son Guṇa 45 ; and said 'You are immediately to go away my child, and return only after you have created the universe.' 46. With these instructions from his father, Guṇa went away quickly but was highly afraid to undertake the task of creation. 47. He thought within himself 'Were I to create the world, I should not be able to come out of it after I have seen its pleasures.' 48. So Guṇa, too, failed to create the world and (in his turn) brought out of his person a son named Thula (Sthūla) ; 49. and told him to

पिता आज्ञा निरञ्जन चलि गत्वा ।
ए संसार सृजिवाकु मङ्गाभय कला ॥ ४२
निरञ्जन ए संसार सृजि न पारिला ।
निर्गुण बोलिण पुव देहु जात कला ॥ ४३
बोइला तु निर्गुण एहि खणि यिउ ।
संसार पृथी सृजिण वाहुडि आसिव ॥ ४४
निर्गुण हि ए संसार सृजि न पारिला ।
गुण बोलि करि पुव देहु जात कला ॥ ४५
गुणकु बोइला वापु एहि खण यिउ ।
संसार पृथी सृजिण वाहुडि आसिव ॥ ४६
पिता आज्ञा पाइ गुण वेगे चलि गेला ।
ए संसार सृजिवाकु मङ्गाभय कला ॥ ४७
मने विचारिला यदि संसार सृजिवि ।
देखिण संसार सुख आसि न पारिवि ॥ ४८
गुण हि संसार सृजि न पारिला ।
ठल बोलि करि पुव देहु जात कला ॥ ४९

go immediately and come back after he had created the universe. 50. Thula flew away speedily, having been thus directed by his father, but was greatly afraid to undertake the task. 51. He shrank back from creating the universe in great fear and sat down on his way heaving deep sighs. 52. He was absorbed in deep meditation and abstraction, and begot of his own person a son named Dharma; 53. and said to him 'Go quickly, my child, and come back after having (created and) experienced the pleasures of the world.' 54. 'But you must be very quick in going from and coming back to this place, or else you will be overtaken by *Moha* on your way and will never be able to come back at all.' 55. Unable to disobey the words of his father, Dharma went away saying that he would return as soon as he had done with the creation. 56. But even he was afraid to create the world though he had left his father with the above words and sat down to think out (some way

ठुलकु वीइल वापु एहि खणे यिवु ।
 संसार पृथी सृजिण बाइकि आसिवु ॥ ५०
 पिता आज्ञा पाइ ठुल वेगे बलि गला ।
 ए संसार सृजिवाकु महाभय कला ॥ ५१
 ठुल हि डरिला पृथी सृजिबार पाइ ।
 बाटरे बसिला डरि निश्वास पकाइ ॥ ५२
 महायोगध्यान करि ठुल हि बसिला ।
 धर्म बोलि एक पुत्र देइ जात कला ॥ ५३
 धर्म कु वीइला वापु वेगे होइ यिवु ।
 संसारमोग अर्जिण बाइकि आसिवु ॥ ५४
 आसिवु वेग होइतु एजे ठाकु यिवा ।
 मोइ होइ पकि पथे आसि न पारिवा ॥ ५५
 पितार वचन धर्म भाङ्गि न पारिला ।
 आसिवि संसार सृजि बोलि कहि गला ॥ ५६

whereby he could extricate himself). 57. He said to himself 'Father's words are inviolable. Were I to fall back from the task of the creation, I should meet with certain destruction. 58. But what an insoluble riddle it is! Even the Rsis, when overtaken by *Moha*, come to destruction. How then am I to create *moha* and yet live safe and secure?' 59. Having thus reflected within himself, Dharma sat down in extreme anxiety and trouble of mind, and his body began to perspire. 60. He then wiped his forehead with his hand and shook off the drops of perspiration upon the ground; and from there a woman sprang up. 61. She was a young lady in full bloom with sweet and gentle smiles (upon her lips) 62. Having seen her, Dharma was amorously inclined, and he held in hand the seed that flowed out 66. Then Dharma let the seed drop there, which fell in three

धर्म हि से संसार सृजिवाकु डरिला ।
 पिता बुले जाइ धर्म भालि न बसिला ॥ ५७
 बोल्ले धर्म पिता आशा भाजि न पारिलि ।
 संसार न सृजिलेत निचय नाश गलि ॥ ५८
 मोह होइ पड़ि ऋषिमाने मोह जालि ।
 मुइ सृजि मोह जिवि करि एक भानि ॥ ५९
 देख गम गम घम विपण्ड हइला ।
 विचारि मनरे धर्म भालि न बसिला ॥ ६०
 कपालु भाल पाणि हस्ते फिङ्गि देले ।
 से पाणि भूमिरे पड़ि स्त्री जनमिले ॥ ६१
 नव युवा होइले भूमिरे पड़ि जाइ ।
 हसिले अलप होइ से धीरे अनार ॥ ६२
 धर्म देवताये देखि न असमाल होइला ।
 खसिलाक बोग यहु हस्तर धरिला ॥ ६३

different parts. 71. And out of the seed Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Īṣvara were born. Dharma was highly pleased to see these three sons. 72. Then he said to Brahmā 'You are to go and create the world'; to Viṣṇu 'You are to destroy the demons'; 73. and to Īṣvara 'Because you occupy a junior place to Brahmā and Viṣṇu, you are to go and practise abstraction and meditation.' 74. 'I am now going away to where my father is; (but) you, three brothers, are to remain here and create the the world.' 75. Then the goddess said "Having begotten me from your forehead, you are my father. How then am I to live with the sons, leaving their father?" 76. Dharma replied 'Why will you go with me? With all the pleasures of the world, all the people will come to worship you here. 77. Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Hara, my three sons, will create here the play-house of the world. 78. (Though but one) you yourself will be

एते बोलि धर्म बीज से ठारे डालिले ।
 तिन छण्ड होइ बीज से ठारे पड़िले ॥ ७१
 पड़िण से ठारे बीज से ब्रह्मा विष्णु जात ।
 तिन पुत्र देखि धर्म होइले उपत ॥ ७२
 ब्रह्माड होइले तुम्हे पृथी जात कर ।
 विष्णुड होइले तुम्हे असुरड्ड मार ॥ ७३
 ईश्वरड्ड होइले तु योग कर ध्यान ।
 ब्रह्मा विष्णु दुइ भाइ ठारु तु जे सान ॥ ७४
 आम्हे जलबच्छु जे पिता ठाकु भीर ।
 तुम्हे तिन भाइ सृजित संसार ॥ ७५
 देखी होइले कपालु जात कलु मोते ।
 बाप छाड़ि पुत्र सङ्गे रहिवि कि मने ॥ ७६
 धर्म बोले मागी सङ्गे किपा जिवु ।
 पृथी भांग वेनी सब सेवा तु वेनिवु ॥ ७७
 ब्रह्मा विष्णु इर तिन पुत्र भीहर ।
 एखाने सजिवे संसार खेलघर ॥ ७८

millions in form, as tutelary deities of villages; and every day will you have millions of worship the wide world over.' 79. (Then) he added 'Brahmā will create the world and fill this play-house with great dolls (*i.e.*, beings).' 80 . . . And thus were they begotten of Dharma . . . 91. And thus the mother remained here with her sons and having (thus) created the world Dharma went back to the place of his father.' 92.

From the above account of creation quoted *in extenso* we come clearly to know that both the elements and the attributes sprang into existence from the Supreme Lord of the universe, *viz.*, Mahācūnya. In the beginning he was destitute of all attributes; then he came to develop attributes and assumed a material form. Thereafter he manifested himself as Dharma and from the sweat of his brow created a beautiful woman representing the primordial energy of the universe. And from this did Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheṣvara spring; and to them were made over the charge and the care of the creation.

We meet with a similar description of creation in the Cūnya Purāṇa of Rāmāi Paṇḍita. First of all, he derives, the wind or space, time

तुम्हे लचे रूप देव यामशौरुपे ।
लचे पूजा पाइव दिन्नर पृथिवी जाके ॥ ७९
वीडने धर्म व्रत्त सृजिने संसार ।
महा पुतली आनि करिने खेळ घर ॥ ८०
एमन्त प्रकारे तहुं धर्म जात देखा ।
धर्म रखि खेति सृजि संसार होइखा ॥ ८१
एमन्ते मा पुत्र घेनि ए ठारे रहिले ।
संसार सृजिण धर्म पिता ठाकु गले ॥ ८२”

and the elements from the Mahāçūnya and then from his body, which was Dharma itself, Nirañjana. From the sweat of Nirañjana's brow did the primordial energy spring, from which again did Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheçvara have their beings. The reader will now agree with us in thinking, we may hope, that the influence of the Dharma cult as expounded by Rāmāi Paṇḍita is largely reflected in the Dharmagītā of Mahādeva Dāsa. Just as one hears certain classes of the people sing Dharma-Maṅgala in different places of the Rāḍha country, so one will hear, in some parts of Mayūrabhañja, the tribes known as Pāna, Bāthuris, &c., to sing the Dharmagītā by Mahādeva Dāsa.*

We have found in the long extract made above from this work that the author used the words Nirvāṇa and Mahāçūnya as synonyms for Vaikuṇṭha.† Now, the term Nirvāṇa has been explained by many scholars as the complete annihilation of being; and this is also the interpretation that obtains among the people. But it is not corroborated by Dharmagītā, according to which the term is neither negative nor privative but a positive one, denoting no annihilation of being but the essence of it. And this is just the view that Mr. Suzuki adopts in his Mahāyāna Buddhism. Thus he says.--

“The Mahāyāna Buddhism was the first religious teaching in India that contradicted the doctrine of Nirvāṇa as conceived by other Hindu

* For Dharma cult, See Bengal Census Report, (1901), Pt. I. p. 204, and Discovery of living Buddhism in Bengal, by M. M. Haraprasād Cāstri.

† “सद्यं निर्वाणं जे कल दृषिकेशी ।

ते शून्य साक्षसे अन्तरिते चाल दिशि ।

से स्थान सत्तक शुद्ध वैकुण्ठ सुवर्ण ।”

thinkers who saw in it a complete annihilation of being ; for they thought that existence is evil, and evil is misery, and the only way to escape misery is to destroy the root of existence, which is nothing less than the total cessation of human desires and activities in Nirvāṇic unconsciousness. The Yoga taught self-forgetfulness in deep meditation, the Sāṃkhya, the absolute separation of Paruṣa from Prakṛiti, which means undisturbed self-contemplation ; the Vedānta, absorption in the Brahman, which is the total suppression of all particulars ; and thus all of them considered emancipation from human desires and aspirations to be a heavenly bliss, that is Nirvāṇa.”*

In his Nirākāra-Saṃhita Achyutānanda Dāsa declares Nirvāṇa to be the last stage of the religious life. He says—

“ब्रह्मानन्दं येन अदिव्य अव्यक्त दिव्यानन्दं तद्गुं जायते ।

तादृक् गुरुनाम सच्चिदानन्दं तत् स्वयं अनादि निर्वाणम् ।”

“Know him who is Brahmānanda (who finds delight in the Brahman) to be the unrevealed Divyānanda. The name of his Guru is Satchitānanda, who is no less than the Anādi (without beginning or end) Nirvāṇa.”

In fact, the several prominent Vaiṣṇava poets of Orissa, such as Balarāma Dāsa, Jagannātha Dāsa, Chaitānya Dāsa, Achyuta Dāsa, and Mahādeva Dāsa, in their respective works, use the terms ‘Mahāçūnya’ ‘Çūnya Brahma,’ ‘Vaikuṇṭha’ and ‘Nirvāṇa’ as conveying one and the same meaning. Mahādeva Dāsa has also adopted the same theory of creation as has been promulgated

* D.T. Surzuki's Mahāyāna Buddhism, p. 340.

by the Mahāyāna Buddhism. He has also followed Rāmāi Paṇḍita by representing Dharma as male, while the Buddhists of Nepal worship Dharma as a female divinity, giving it the name of Prajñā or the primordial energy.

Balarāma Dāsa also, while designating 'Mahācūnya' as 'Nirañjana,' regarded 'Dharma' as the primordial energy. Thus in his Gaṇeṣa-Vibhūti-tīkā he says—

“महा नित्यस्थान रेटी ए व्रत प्रमाण ।

आदिमाता देवी से देवता महाशून्य ॥

सखि तंहि आदिमाता सखा निरञ्जन ।

तत्त्व करि कहि देवा हेतु करि चिन ।” (२५ अध्याय)

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“That goddess is the Ādimātā and that god is Mahācūnya. And that Ādimātā and Nirañjana are related to one another as friend. This is the (real) secret, but try to understand them more particularly.’

In the Svayambhū Purāṇa of Nepal Dharma is represented as Prajñā-Pāramitā or Buddha-Mātā i.e. the mother of all Buddhas, who has no beginning, no end—

“धर्मदयास्वरूपेण त्रैलोक्ये च प्रख्यापिता ।

सर्व्वतयागतानाञ्च जननी इति ख्यापिता ।

खगाननेति नामेन खड्गशून्यरूपिणी ॥

शून्यतां शून्यतां माता दृष्टमाता प्रकीर्त्तिता ।

प्रज्ञापारमितारूपी बौद्धानां जननी तथा ।”*

* Vide Brihat Svayambhu Purāṇa (A. Society's Edition), pp. 179-180.

“Dharma is known throughout the three worlds as Dayā (mercy); and is regarded as the mother of all the Tathāgatas. And having the colour of the sky and the form of the Çūnya, she is named Khagānanā.

“Mother Çūnyatā is known as Buddha-Mātā and in the form of Prajñā Pāramitā she is also the mother of the Buddhists.”

Just as here Çūnyatā or Prajñā Pāramitā is looked upon as the mother of all the Tathāgatas or Buddhas i.e. as the Ādimātā, so in various places of the Çūnya-Saṃhitā of Achyutānanda, Dharma, or for the matter of that, the void itself, is treated as the mother of all the gods; and the Paramātman is used synonymously with the Great Void, thus:—

“ब्रह्म देवमाता शून्यं वरदाता एहाङ्कु शून्यमिदं कहि ।” (१४ अध्याय) ।

“परम-आत्माति महाशून्यं वोलि भाव ।” (२२ अध्याय) ।

“The primordial mother of the gods, the bestower of boons upon Çūnya, is herself known as the Çūnya.” “Think of the Paramātman itself as the Mahā-Çūnya.”

It is clear and evident from the Gītās of Mahādeva Dāsa and Balarāma Dāsa that the Buddhist Vaisnavas of Utkala were divided between two camps of faith. According to one, Dharma, designated as Nirañjana, was the first cause of the universe and his form was Çūnya or Void. Not unlike the followers of the Dharma-cult of the Rāḍha country who have associated and mixed up the following description of Viṣṇu with the *dhyāna* of Mahā-Çūnya—“शुक्लाम्बरधरं देवं शशिवरं चतुर्भुजं । प्रसन्नवदनं ध्यायेत् सर्वविघ्नोपशान्तये ॥” “For

the alleviation of all troubles and distresses one should call upon the four-handed god, clad in a white piece of cloth and having the colour of the moon and a graceful countenance"—they, too, incorporated the description contained in the above line with their mystic syllable “ॐ शुनत्रद्यै नमः ” “Om, salutation to the Çūnya Brahman.” The other camp regarded and worshipped Dharma as a female divinity. Just as the image of Dharma is a highly sacred object in Nepal and is worshipped in every Chaitya there, so in the Chaityas of Mayūrabhañja, Dharma, was enshrined and worshipped in the female form. In the beginning of the Eighteenth Century the Tibetan pilgrim, Buddhagupta Tathāgatanātha, witnessed this worship in that place. In the vicinity of Haribhañja Chaitya, visited by this Tibetan pilgrim, we also discovered, in the course of our exploration, a similar stone-figure of Dharma.

Anuttara
Yoga

Abundant materials are on record to prove sufficiently that Anuttara Yoga or Haṭha Yoga obtained largely among the crypto Buddhists of Orissa. According to Lāmā Tāranātha, Tāntrism, which was only a popular but degraded form of Yoga, was transmitted from the time of Asaṅga and Dharma-kīrti. While endorsing the above view Dr. Kern writes “After Dharma-kīrti’s time the Anuttara Yoga became more and more general and influential.” The religious works by Balarāma Dāsa and others furnish proofs in favour of this opinion. The Buddhists as well as the Çaivas regard Gorakṣanātha as the founder of the Haṭha-Yoga system. The Vaiṣṇava Buddhistic work, entitled Amara-paṭala opens with a prologue containing a dialogue between Gorakṣanātha and Mallikānātha. The

works by Achyutānanda and Balarāma, too, pay a sufficient homage to Guru Minanātha, Guru Gorakṣanātha,* Mallikānātha, Vīrasimha, Lohidāsa, Bāligā-dāsa and others.

Dr. Kern justly observes—

Bhakti and
Brahma-
vada.

“Mahāyānism lays a great stress on devotion, in this respect as in many others harmonising with the current of feeling in India which led to the growing importance of Bhakti. It is by the feeling of fervent devotion combined with the preaching of active compassion that the creed has enlisted the sympathy of numerous millions of people and has become a factor in the history of mankind, of much greater importance than orthodox Buddhism.”†

The Oriya works of Balarāma Dāsa, Jagannatha Dāsa, Chaitānya Dāsa and Achyuta Dāsa are permeated with a spirit of devotion ; and there are many songs in these which display a high spiritual emotion. Besides, the Mahāyāna School indicates a conception of the Brahman which is based on the lines of the Vedānta Philosophy. “It would perhaps be more accurate to say that it is a pantheistic doctrine with a theistic tinge ; Buddha takes the place of the personified masculine Brahman of the Vedānta.”‡

The works of the above-mentioned authors abound with passages substantiating this construction. They show how Buddhism developed

* Pag-sam-jon-zang (by Sumpo Khampo), a renowned Buddhist Scholar of Tibet) says “About this time (*i.e.* the 13th Century A.D.) foolish Yogis who were followers of Buddhist Yogi Gorakṣanatha became Civaite Sannyasis.” *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, for 1898, pt. 1. p. 25.

† Dr. Kern’s *Buddhism*, p. 124.

‡ Do. do. p. 124 *note*.

the idea of the Brahman, and how this Buddhistic ideal lastly evolved itself out in the creed of the later Vaisnavas. The following extract from the *Çūnya Saṁhītā* of Achyuta Dāsa will sufficiently illustrate this—

“परमे परम होइला गोपन आश्रि कला अनदि कि ।
 अलेखपुरे निरञ्जन पाटना दिव्यरूप तहि लेखि ॥
 कालिन्दी कदम्बमूले देवगण सत्वाङ्गरु भाल भरे ।
 रमाप्रेमाकुल चम्पकललिता प्रेमलता प्रिय स्खरे ॥
 शुभु अर्च्छि वाणी सधुर से ध्वनि पौयूष रस से रसे ।
 महाशून्य यहिं रातु दिवा नाहि कोटिसूर्य परकाशे ॥
 देखिण अचेत, हजिला सचेत जले जल गला मिशि ।
 तेजरे तेज मिशिला व्रतपन वायुरे वायुटि मिशि ॥
 पृथ्वी आप तेज वायव्य आकाश पञ्चात्मिक पञ्चजन ।
 प्रत्यक्ष परम अरूप अनाम महाशून्ये हेला लीन ॥
 महाशून्य ज्योति अरूप अश्रुति रूप रेख यहिं नाहिं ।
 हुताशन अग्नि महाशून्य होइ ज्योतिरानन्द बोलाइ ॥”

(२३ अध्याय)

“The essence is hidden in the primordial essence, the part is absorbed in the eternal whole. On the spotless Alekhapura is imprinted a divine form. On the bank of the Kālindī, under the Kadamba tree, the gods begin to shed lusters from their bodies. Hearing the sweet voice of Champaka-lalitā and Prema-latā, Ramā is mad with love. The voice is as sweet as music, and as delicious as nectar. In the Great Void where there is no day and no night, millions of suns begin to shine. I saw the animated world lost in the inanimate, water mixed with water, fire with fire, and air with air. The five senses

made up of the five substances—earth, water, fire, air, and sky—became merged in the great eternal void without form and without name in my presence. The Great Void is effulgent, it has no sense of sight or hearing, there is not a single line or form in it. That brilliant Fire becomes the Great Void and is called Jyotirānanda (blissful light.)”

The Mādhyamikas were absolute Anātmavādins (champions of the doctrine of non-egoism);* while the aforesaid devout poets were all of them Ātmavādins (followers of the doctrine of egoism) though they supported the doctrine of the void, for Paramātman, the great Ego or the Great Void, was, as the Brahman, the central idea about which all the effervescence of their devout poetic inspirations gathered. How then can these poets be regarded as Crypto-Buddhists?

Crypto-
Buddhists of
the 16th and
the 17th
Century.

It has been shewn in the beginning of this treatise that the ancient Buddhistic community came to be divided, in course of time, into various sects. Of these the Yogācāra School believed in the existence of the soul or Ego, but the others did not subscribe to this belief. We have also found that the Mādhyamikas looked with some disfavour and suspicion upon the Bodhisattvayānas or Āvākayānas, closely following the footsteps of the Śthavira Sect, because many of them were found to believe in the existence of the soul or Ego. It has further been noted almost at the outset that the sect of the Mantrayānas which sprang into existence about the fourth Century A.D. believed in the unification of the Jīvātman (individual soul) and the Paramātman (the universal soul). Nāgārjuna

* Vide Suzuki's Mahāyāna Buddhism.

the expounder of the doctrine of the void and after him Dingnāga, the great Buddhistic logician, had exercised great influences in Utkala. Even so late as the seventh Century when the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang (Yuan Chuang) came to visit India, he found here many remnants of their influences. Though in Odra he had found the Mahāyānists in all their glory and greatness, what he saw in Kalinga was but the Mahāyāna Sthavira Sect. The sect of the Hinayānas sprang from the primitive Sthavira cult, and it is very likely that the Mahāyāna Sthavira Sect which came into existence in later times was simply the outcome of the union of these two into one. For long the voice of the Hinayānas was the predominant one in Northern Bengal, and though in the time of the Pāla Dynasty many of them were forced to embrace the creed of the Mahāyānists, yet their original doctrines, ideas and beliefs were not altogether effaced; rather, they grew and were mixed up with their new acquisitions. We have already said that Nāgārjuna had accepted the theories and doctrines of the Gītā and the Upaniṣads. No wonder, therefore, that the Mantrayānas, who followed his creed, also accepted and tried to assimilate the Ātmavāda, doctrine of egoism, as expounded in the Gītā. Nepal was the chief abode of the Mahāyānists. After the principal Buddhist College of Nālanda was destroyed and razed to the ground on the conquest of the country by the Muhammadans, many of the Buddhist Āraṇyikas of the place went to and took refuge in Nepal with their religious scriptures. The relics of these sacred writings are even now to be met with there. It was with the help of these and with the assistance rendered by one of Vajrācāryas of the present Vajrayāna

sect of Nepal, which is only a debased form of the Mantrayāna cult, derived in its turn from the Mahāyāna School, that Mr. Hodgson has been able to detect four different sects dividing amongst themselves the Buddhistic community of the place. The names of these four schools are Svābhāvikas, Aiçvarikas, Kārmikas and Yātnikas. Mr. Hodgson's remarks may be thus summed up—

The Svābhāvikas, apparently the oldest of the four schools, is again subdivided into two sects, *viz.*, Svābhāvikas simple and Prājñika Svābhāvikas. The former hold that nature or matter alone exists, engaged in an eternal evolution of entity and non-entity; while, according to the latter, matter in two modes, abstract or proper and concrete or contingent, is the sole substance. All the active and intelligent powers are unitised in the first mode, as inherent in matter, which is here deified and held to be unity, immutability, rest and bliss. The actual and visible nature, the scene of action, multiplicity, change and pain, is the result of the second mode. The first is called Nivṛtti and the second Pravṛtti. The powers of matter in their unity are indescribable; but in their concrete forms, *i.e.*, as nature, 'they are symbolised by the *yonī* and personified as a female divinity called Ādi-Prajñā and Ādi-Dharma.' Transmigrations are due to Pravṛtti, Nivṛtti producing eternal bliss. To attain this is the *summum bonum* (the highest good) of man.

In their interpretation of Nivṛtti, there is a division amongst the Aiçvarikas, some holding that 'Buddha represents intellectual essence and is the sole entity,' and others that 'Dharma

or material essence exists with Buddha in Nivṛtti,' the two being inseparable there. When the essential principle of matter passes into the state of Pravṛtti, Buddha, the type of active power, first proceeds from it and then associates with it; and from that association results the actual visible world. The principle is feigned to be a female, first the matter and then the wife of Buddha.

The Kārmika School is so called from the word Karma, 'meaning moral action,' and the *yātnika* from the word *yatna*, signifying intellectual force, skilful efforts.' They are simply later developments of and supplements to the first two schools. Both the Svābhāvikas and the Aiṣvarikas had in their own ways 'assigned that eternal necessary connection of virtue and felicity in which they alike believed.' The Kārmikas and the Yātnikas did not raise this question but confined themselves 'to the phenomena of human nature, its free-will, its sense of right and wrong and its mental power—to the wisdom of Svabhāva or Prajñā or Ādi-Buddha.' There were two questions here—Is that connection to be realized by man by 'the just conduct of his understanding?' or, is it to be realized by 'the proper cultivation of his moral sense?' In reply, the Yātnikas stood for the understanding and the Kārmikas for the moral sense, and thus they removed "the obloquy so justly attaching to the ancient Prājñika and even to the Aiṣvarika School, because of the want of providence and of dominion in their first cause." Čākya gives the following descriptions of Karma and Yatna in Divyāvadāna, "The Union of Upāya and Prajñā is Karma, while Yatna is produced by Īvara (*i.e.*, Ādi-Buddha) from Prajñā or Nivṛtti, and all the difficulties that

occur in the affairs of this world or of the next are rendered easy by Yatna." Impersonality and quiescence of the first cause with which the Svābhāvikas and the Aiçvarikas were charged were removed by these two schools by attributing free-will to man and moral attributes to God. The Kārmikas believe that fate is their own creation "पूर्वजन्मकृतं कर्म तद्वैवमिति कथयते."

Just as in Nepal the whole Buddhistic community is found at present to have been divided into four different sects, so in Utkala, after the destruction of Nālanda, the resident Buddhists were divided into several prominent sects, all springing up as results of the contact they successively came in with the different phases of Buddhism. Even so late as the 16th Century traces of their quondam influence and relics of their scriptures were discernible in Utkala. Achyutānanda Dāsa has thus referred to these schools in his Çūnya-Saṁhitā—

“नागान्तक वेदान्तक योगान्तक जेते ।
 नाना प्रति विधिरे कहिले तोष चिते ॥
 गोरखनाथङ्क विद्या वीरसिंह आत्ता ।
 मल्लिकानाथङ्क योग बाउलौ प्रतिज्ञा ॥
 लोहिदाम कपिलङ्क सात्तिमन्तु जेते ।
 कहिले जे येमन्त से होईकि गुपते ॥” (१० अध्याय)

“The Nāgāntāka (followers of Nāgārjuna), the Vedāntaka, (or Sautrāntika Schools) and the Yogāntaka (or Yogāchāra School)—all these have laid down, with all the sincerity of their faiths, various laws and bye-laws of conduct. The system of religious observances and practices inaugurated by Gorakṣanātha under the command

of Vīra Simha, the Yoga system of Mallikānātha, the doctrine of the Bāuli or Bāula Sect, and the Sākṣimantras of Lohidāsa and Kapila—all these have been buried in secrecy.”

Now, on the strength of these lines we can safely assert that Nāgāntaka or the Mādhyamika Philosophy introduced by Nāgārjuna, the Yogāchāra or the system of rites and observances closely akin to those of Yoga as introduced and enjoined by Asaṅga and others, and the time-honoured school of Buddhism, called Sautāntrika, dealing with ancient Sūtras or Buddhistic dogmas based upon the Upaniṣads—these three schools of thought; and the Haṭha-Yoga systems introduced and propagated by Gorakṣanātha* and Mallikānātha who flourished in later times, the doctrines of the Bāula sect, and the mantras introduced by Lohidāsa,† and Kapila—all these were all along alive and active, though driven underground by the force of many antagonistic circumstances. We take the Aṣṭavarika, Kārmika or Yātnika School of thought which obtains among the Buddhistic community of Nepal, to be but

* Guru Gorakṣanātha was a disciple of Minanatha otherwise known as Matsyendra. The memory of the latter is worshipped by the Newar Buddhists as being the tutelary deity of Nepal. In the history of Tibetan Buddhism Gorakṣanātha occupies a very prominent place, being honoured and worshipped as one of the principal Buddhist sages. We learn from the pen of Lāma Tāranātha, historian of Buddhism, that the whole sect of the disciples and followers of Gorakṣanātha embraced the cult of Caivism in the thirteenth century A.D. Even now he is held in great esteem and deified as Civa by the Yogi class. It has been hinted at in *Cunya-Sambhita* that both he and Mallikānātha were *Yoga-rurhas*, i.e. staunch adherents of the system of Yogāchāra.

† In the religious books of the Dharma cult of Rārha, Lohidāsa has been referred to as Lohichandra or Lohichandra. In *Cunya-purana* we find an allusion to the worship of Dharma or *Cunya* by Rājā Hari-chandra, father of Lohichandra, and Madanā his mother. Mention is made in *Cunya-Sambhitā* also of the *pravrajyā*, *matha* and *Nirakāra*. Dhyāna resorted to by Lohidāsa, and the reverse mode of Sādhana (devotion and prayer) after the principles of ‘Nagantaka’ or Naga-rjuna.

the latest phases of the Yogāntaka School of philosophy (which is in reality an attempt at a compromise between the ancient Yogāchāra and the Vedānta Philosophy), and the Svābhāvika or Prājñika Svābhāvika School, also to be met with there, survived as the Nāgāntaka School of Orissa—being a later development of the Mādhyamika School inaugurated by Nāgārjuna. It also becomes clear and evident even from *Āmāsa-saṃhitā* that in the 16th Century A.D., Utkala was largely under the influence of the Mahāyāna School in its two branches of Yogāchāra and Mādhyamika. Besides, it has been clearly established from the *Viṣṇugarbha* of Chaitanya Dāsa and the *Dharma-gītā* of Mahādeva Dāsa that the worship of the Pañcha-Dhyāni Buddha which even now obtains among the Newar Buddhists and the worship and narration of the traditional story of Dharma introduced by Rāmāi Paṇḍit in the time of the Pāla Kings, were in vogue in Utkala at the time. To escape the persecution and oppression which followed in the reign of Rājā Pratāparudra, upon the Buddhists of all sects and schools, a large majority of them embraced the Gaudīya phase of Vaiṣṇavism of Lord Ćrī Chaitanya. But it does not seem likely nor is it reasonable to expect, that all of them were earnest and sincere converts to the later Vaiṣṇavism of Gauda. On the contrary, we hope, it would not be too much to infer and assert that though many of them gave themselves out to be devout Vaiṣṇavas and staunch and loyal devotees of Mahā-prabhu, yet they were, in their heart of hearts, but votaries of Buddha. And we can safely count Achyutānanda, Balarāmadāsa, Jagannātha and Chaitanyadāsa, referred to before, among this class of Vaiṣṇavas. Achyutānanda has himself

thrown a flood of side light upon this in his *Ācārya-saṁhita*. It is related in his *Nirākāra-Saṁhita* that implicitly obeying the direction of *Ācārya Chaitanya*, *Achūyānanda* first became a convert to *Vaiṣṇavism* under *Sanātana Gosvāmi* and following the custom and practice of this sect, he put on all their outward marks. Referring to himself in his work he says that shortly after his conversion to *Vaiṣṇavism*, he could in no way bring his mind to take any the least interest in mundane matters. With the lapse of time this tendency became more and more marked, and his parents grew more and more dissatisfied and disgusted with him. Thus the only bonds that tried to tie him down to the concerns of the world, broke asunder of themselves, making him quite loose and free to follow the dictates of his own soul. In course of time the *Nirguṇa* made Himself manifest to him, illumining the innermost recesses of his heart and calming and pacifying the storm of passion and desire. At length, ten years and ten months after his conversion, at the foot of the western banian tree and in the village of 'Tripura on the bank of the river *Paṭanā*, he was graced by the presence of his *Guru Brahma* in his naked and untrimmed sublimity. His name was '*Mahānanda*'. The mighty preceptor initiated him into the secrets and mysteries of religion and explained to him that the ultimate object of devotion, upon which alone the mind was to be concentrated, with reference to the attainment of which the whole life was to be regulated, and which was greater than the greatest of the preceptors, was '*Sachchidānanda*' '*Anādi Nirvāṇa*.'†—a stage where it is all

† Vide *Nirakara Samhita*.

eternal life, eternal bliss and consciousness. A short while after this Achyuta came to the forest of Daṇḍaka, on the eastern bank of the Prāchī and visited many Rṣis and Tapasvins (hermits, sages and ascetics). The misunderstandings and dissensions, which prevailed among these, have not been passed over in silence in Cūnya Saṁhitā. About a week after this, at dead of night and in the heart of a dense forest, he was graced with the presence of Lord Buddha. Achyuta has thus alluded to him in his Cūnya Saṁhitā :—

“For five or seven days I walked into the dense forest in search of my Lord. One day at dead of night when I was deeply absorbed in studying the details of those who have met him and who have not, I was graced with His presence. He said ‘Long and tedious has been the separation between myself and the five souls of my life. I would not rest till I met you.’ Having heard this, I fell prostrate at His feet, cried aloud “Saved, O I am saved now !” and informed Him of all the thoughts and ideas of my mind. Having heard me, the Lord burst into a fit of laughter and said ‘Listen, Achyuta, to what I say. In the Kaliyuga, I have made myself manifest again as Buddha. It is desirable, however, for you in the Kaliyuga to hide your Buddhistie frames of mind away from view. You (five) are indeed my five souls, my five lives. Having undergone incarnation, I have found you back. All troubles and calamities will now be put an end to by means of the Nirākāra-mantra (devotion to formless Brahman or Cūnya). Having saved yourselves first by this, you will save others afterwards. I tell you, take refuge in Buddha,—in mother Ādi-śakti or the first primordial energy

(i.e. Dharma) and in the Saṅgha* (congregation). By devoting yourself to the Nirākāra, you will be chastened and purified with an influx of piety, all pure and transparent. Having said all this, He initiated me into the religion of the Nirādhāra, (self-sustained) and instructed me to go back into the world and propagate this religion (as the means of salvation) in this Kaliyuga. The Lord said also "Know that Buddha is none else but Brahma Himself. And in this form do I dwell inside all bodies. Go, Ye Achyuta, Ananta, Jaçovanta, Balarāma and Jagannātha, go and publish what I say to you." Having been thus ordered, we five, instead of going to Manayāna entered the forest when Rṣis and Tapasvins, the Sannyāsins, the followers of Vīra Siṁha, Rohi-dāsa and Kapila, and the Bāula sect, all these bodies gathered together in an assembly, and there made known the wishes and directions of the Lord. I explained to them the Mantra, Yantra and Karanyāsa, appropriate to the Çūnya or Void. Upon this all the sages blessed themselves and blessed the name of the Lord. They then understood that Çūnya Brahma, devoid of all forms, Himself resides as light, inside all bodies. The moving and the stationary, the insect and the fly, inside all these are the Çūnya Puruṣa, and the Çūnya Yantra. The Nirākāra (formless) Yantra which is the essence (emblem?) of the Çūnya-puruṣa, who is a helpmate of the meek in spirit, has revealed all this out of great kindness."†

* By many of the later ill-informed writers *Saṅgha* was changed into *Saṅkha*.

† "पाञ्च सात दिनरे प्रवेश हेल याइ ।
गहने खट्ट पसु नियोगरे याई ॥
निशि ऋईभागेन पड्ड हारतम ।
के पाइला न पाइला पसु नियोगेण ॥

There can now be no shadow of a doubt about the fact that the five great souls, *viz.* Jagannātha, Balarāma, Achyuta, Ananta and Jaçovanta Dāsa, who have up till now generally passed for devout Vaiṣṇava poets, were in the sixteenth century the 'five lives' of the Buddhists *i.e.* mighty pillars of the great structure of the crypto-Buddhistic community of Utkal. They acknowledged and sang the glory of the Trinity. We have already quoted, in connection with the history of the Bāthuri tribe the Çūnya or Dharma Gāyatrī that is to be found in the 'Siddhānta-ḍambara' of Balarāma Dāsa. There also the

अवधानं ह्रीन्ति मनु जनमाने पाद ।
 एहि सम्यक् ये दर्शनं कलुं याद ॥
 बौद्धले ओ प्राण पञ्च शाखा काङ्क्षिं यिष ॥
 नियोग न रुचे मोते तुम्हेत नइल ॥
 एहा गुणि चरणर तले सुं पड़िलि ।
 निस्तरिलि निस्तरिलि बोलिण बौद्धलि ॥
 जनाइलि कामुरे सकल कथा मुहिं ।
 हृदिण उठिलि प्रभु टह टह ह्रीड ॥
 बौद्धले अच्युत तुम्हे गुण आश वाचो ।
 कलियुगे बहुरूपे प्रकाशिलु पुणि ॥
 कलियुगे बौद्धरूपे निजरूप गोप्य ।
 * * * * *

तुम्हे मोर पञ्च आत्मा अट पञ्च प्राण ।
 अवतार थोणी येते तुम्ह पाद पुण ॥
 निराकार मन्त्रे सर्व दुर्गेति हरिव ।
 आपने तरिण से ये परे तराइव ॥
 बुद्ध माता आदिशक्ति संघ छन्ति कहि ।
 निराकार भजने निर्मल भक्ति पड ॥
 एमन्त कहि से देले मन्त्र निराधार ।
 आज्ञा देले कलियुगे कर या प्रचार ॥
 चिह्नव कहिलि प्रभु स्वयं ब्रह्म एहि ।
 मुहिं एहि रूपे अखि सर्व घटे रहि ॥

meditation upon or the mental recitation of, this trinity of Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha are hinted at, as the means of salvation. The Manayāna that is alluded to in Āṇya Saṁhitā, seems to be but another form of the name, 'Mantrayāna.' Achyutyānanda said that in his time the influence of the Manayāna or Mantrayāna sect had considerably dwindled; and it was for this that the images of gods which were originally all of the mind, or to be realised from the mantras, had been reduced to images of wood, stone or earth, rendering it impossible to realise any longer their true natures and characteristics. And it was for this degeneration that Bhagavat propagated through the medium of these five men, the doctrine of the Āṇya Brahman putting on the guise of Buddha, for the salvation of the sinner and the sufferer of the Kali-yuga.

याउ अच्युत अनन्त यथीवन्तदस ।
 बलराम जगन्नाथ कर या प्रकाश ॥
 आशा पाइ आशि पाइ जन ये आइलु ।
 मगधान न चलिता बने प्रवेशिलु ॥
 अवि तपि सद्ग्रासी नामक वीरसिंह ।
 रोहीदास बाउली कपिल येत सङ्ग ॥
 सभा मण्डप ये वसिलि सर्व्व तपि ।
 पचारिलि प्रभुङ्ग कि आशा होई अलिङ्ग ॥
 कहिलि मु' शून्य मन्त्र यन्त्र करन्पास ।
 तपिमाने जय जय कलि ये प्रकाश ॥
 देखिलि ये शून्य ब्रह्म स्वयं व्योति होई ।
 घटे घटे बिजि एहि शून्यकाया देही ॥
 स्यावर जङ्गम कीठ पतङ्गादि येते ।
 शून्यकाया शून्ययन्त्र बिजि घटे घटे ॥
 शून्य कायाकु ये निराकार यन्त्र सार ।
 भवा दया कलि दीन जनङ्ग सोदर ॥ ”

(शून्यसंहिता १० अध्याय)

Though they were sincere Buddhists, being votaries of Buddha, yet they found it necessary, nay unavoidable, to keep their Buddhistic frames of mind hidden under the guise of Vaiṣṇavism—for fear of the persecutions by the Brāhmaṇas and Kings. It is for this that we find the following line in Achyutānanda's *Çūnya Saṁhītā*—

“कलियुगे बौद्धस्ते निजस्व गोप” ।

“It is desirable in the Kaliyuga that the followers of Buddha should be disguised.”

Not only Achyutadāsa but almost all the ancient poets of Ūtkala when singing of the ten incarnations, have referred to Jagannātha or the Dāru-Brahma as being one and the same with the incarnation of Buddha, the saviour of men in the Kali-yuga.*

Incarnation
of Buddha.

Vyāsa also expressed in his *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (1.3.24)—

“ततः कलो संप्रवृत्त संमोहाय सुरद्विषाम् ।

बुद्धनाम्नाञ्जनसुत कीकटेषु मविष्यति ।”

“Then on the advent of Kaliyuga, for the purpose of misleading the Asuras, the Lord will be born in Kikaṭa as son to Añjana, and named Buddha.”

But the devout poet Jagannāth Dāsa did not subscribe to this; he affirmed, on the contrary, in the fifth skandha of his *Bhāgavata* :—

* Thus the poet Saraladasa says in his *Mahabharata*.

“नवमे वन्द्य श्रीबुद्ध अवतार ।

बुद्धरूपे विजे कले श्रीनीलकण्ठ ॥”

“In the ninth I pay my humble respects to the incarnation of Buddha, who in the form of Buddha dwelt in the Nilachala i.e. Puri.”

“प्रबुद्ध बुद्ध अवतारे ।	ज्ञानविस्तारि ए संसारे ॥
वेदर धर्म कृदाहवे ।	निर्गुण धर्म प्रचारिबे ॥
करिण न करिबे पुन ।	एनु ए मायार धेयान ॥
पुन एमत समयरे ।	सिद्ध अन्न हेव घरे घरे ॥
सकल वर्ण एक ठारे ।	वसि भुञ्जिब सुगतरे ॥”

“Coming down to the world as the all-wise Buddha, the Lord will diffuse knowledge, give up the religion inculcated in the Vedas and promulgate the doctrine of the Nirguṇa. None will then worship māyā again. And at this time, all the different castes will again sit together when partaking of boiled rice.”

The purport of the lines is this. For the diffusion of real knowledge, for the setting aside of the vedic forms of worship and for the introduction and promulgation of the worship of the Nirguṇa Brahma—Buddha's incarnation will take place. Would any Paurāṇika Hindu save a pious and sincere follower of Buddha, acknowledge that it was Buddha who diffused real knowledge and introduced the worship of the Nirguṇa? Chaitanyadāsa in his Nirguṇa-māhātmya while singing of the glories of the twelve Avatāras has found more or less fault with all the other eleven incarnations. It was only Buddha whom he found all pure and stainless. Thus he says of Buddha—

“बहुत बुद्ध अवतारे ।	हरि जन्मिले ए संसारे ॥६८
यज्ञ धर्म निन्दा कलि ।	ब्रह्मज्ञान कि प्रशंसिले ॥७०
सकल धर्म दूर करि	कर्मर फल अनुसरि ॥७१
अनेक कर्म धर्म फल ।	यज्ञ तप व्रत फल ॥७२
याग तर्पण आदि करि ।	ए सर्व एक तुल्य धरि ॥७३
धर्म तरु वे कलियुग ।	आउके ब्रह्मज्ञान एक ॥७४
सकल धर्म आड करि ।	आउके ब्रह्मज्ञान धरि ॥७५
स ब्रह्मज्ञान यछ आइ ।	अमड न काङ्गलि दाइ ॥७६

जैर्षे चाउके खुडि तरु ।

ए भावे तुंदि रचा करि ।

सकल धर्म उपेचिले ।

योगध्यानरे स्थिर मन ।

आर आउ ये जैर्षे मरु ॥१०॥

ब्रह्मज्ञानकु हरे धरि ॥१८॥

ब्रह्मज्ञानकु साध्य कर्त्त ॥१९॥

राखिने ब्रह्मज्ञाने मन ॥२०॥

“Incarnated as many Buddhas, Hari came down into the world. He found fault with the jajña-dharma, *i.e.* religion based upon sacrifices, offerings and oblations, and expressed himself highly in favour of (the attainment of) the knowledge of Brahman (as the basis and essence of religion). Holding works, religious practices, sacrifices, austerities, religious vows, *tarpanas* &c., equally useless with respect to the fruits they are expected to yield, he followed simply the sequence of actions accepting their results unaffected in the least.

“The Kali-yuga is like a tree of religion of which the knowledge of Brahman is the only root. Discarding all the other religions, he clung to the root, *viz.* knowledge of Brahman. Those who have not attained this knowledge, will wander from door to door in ignorance. So one (craving for salvation) will have to uproot all other decaying trees and all the other evil practices which have struck root in his mind. In this way only can he save himself, concentrating his mind all the while upon the knowledge of Brahman. Buddha discarded all the other forms of religion and only attempted, heart and soul, to attain the knowledge of Brahman, settling down his mind by practising *yoga* and *dhyāna* and concentrating it upon the knowledge of Brahman.”

We can very thoroughly understand from the above extract in what light Jagannātha or Buddha was held by these devout poets.

Sangha or
the congrega-
tion

From the *Çūnya Samhitā* we have gleaned the names of the places where these crypto Buddhists dwelt, as also the names of their leaders and their numbers as stated below :—

Names of Places.	Names of Chiefs	Number of disciples.
Anantapur Casana on the bank of the Prachi ...	Dvija Krishnadasa Mahapatra ...	1000
On the banks of the Madhura ...	Bhagavan of the Yadu Dynasty, and Gopa Daitari ...	
About Kuntinagara, Kaçipura, Kalagni, and Rukuna Chaura ...		140
Kāçi Muktiçvara (a village near Bateçvara)		
The village of Nembala on the Chitrotpala ...	Achyutananda ...	255
North to the place of the Pandavas ...	Ananta, Dvija Ganega Pati, Kantha Ganak and Dvija Saranga	{ 200 (Dasas) } 300 of the Yadu dynasty.
On the bank of Brahmani ...		300
Vajjanagara on the Vaitarani ...	Bandhu Mahanti	300
Varaha-mandala on the Vaitarani ...	Jagadananda Agnihotri	300

Achyutānanda says that thus veiling themselves in innumerable ways three thousand† votaries of Buddha were passing their days. Afraid of Kali, they were eagerly and anxiously waiting for the day when their Lord would again

* *Çūnya Samhita*, Chaps. XVII-XX.

† We find in Chapter XIX of *Çūnya Samhita* :—

“आउ भवत येते मोर अक्कन्ति दक्खिन्ना पद्म टीकारे ।

ठिके पाञ्च शत रुपत करिलुं चितु कर तु मनरे ॥”

“From *Padmatikā* you will know the names of the remaining votaries of mine. For certain reasons known to myself, the names of just 500 devotees are kept concealed.”

We are sorry, however, that the *Padmatika* work referred to above has not been found by us. It is very likely that further glimpses into the history of the crypto Buddhists of the 16th Century will be obtained when this work will be brought to light

come down and reveal himself in all his glory. One and all of these Buddhists firmly believed that for the propagation of the religion based upon the knowledge of Brahman, Bhagavat Buddha would again be incarnated. This belief is expressed by Achyutānanda in the following lines :—

“कमलाङ्कः अंशी जनमित्री आसि कसिरे देव चरप ।

वारणक्षेले चिन्दाचिन्दि करित्री आपे प्रभु देवराय ॥

सधरास आसि आपे ब्रह्मराशि बउधरप कलरे ।

तिन सहस्र निज अंश तादाङ्कुर तेजित्री प्रभु कि परे ॥”

“In the Kali-yuga a part of Kamalāṅka will come down into, and be born in, the world. After incarnation, He and His devotees will recognise one another. In the Kali-yuga Brahman will first of all come to Madhurā, as Buddha, and will leave behind Him three thousand parts (*i.e.* faithful and devoted followers) of Himself.”

BUDDHISM IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

Many facts have recently come to light which will go far to prove that though in the 17th Century Buddhism was generally considered to have fallen below the horizon, yet its setting beams were still lingering over and illumining many parts of the country. Lt. Col. Waddel the wellknown historian of Lāmāism has brought out an English translation of the accounts of the travels of Buddha Gupta Tathāgatanātha, written in the Tibetan tongue. It was early in the beginning of the 17th Century *i.e.* in 1608 that this great Buddhistic pilgrim came on a visit to India. We cannot do better than quote the

following, two passages from the English translation of his account :—

“Thence (*i.e.* from Sambuddha) he went to Bengala *via* Jagannāth and Trilinga : thence to Pundravartagarasalini from which in twenty days he reached the shrines Kasramagaram and Devikotta in the upper part of Tripura where he remained in the monastery formerly built by the great Siddha Kronākara. He also visited Hari-bhanja, Phukrād and Palgar. In these countries the clergy and the books were numerous and the religion prosperous. While there, he heard a variety of esoteric teachings from the life (lips ?) of a great Pundit named Dharma of the Hari-bhanja Chaitya and believed to be a pupil of great Siddha, and also found a Pandita Upasika Hetagarbaghanna. He also visited . . . chaitya and he saw the magic circles of Janakāya and Siddhānya Kaḍaka.

“On returning to India proper, Buddha Gupta visited Trilinga Vidyānagar, Kārṇātaka and Bhamdoor. At the latter place he met the great Siddha Santagupta. Henceforth the pilgrim Buddhagupta is known as Buddhaguptanāth and he was especially empowered by the Jogin Dinakara and the great Guru Gambhīramati and he had taken instructions from the superior Uttara Sud-dhigarva and Gantapa, Belātikshana Bhīrabandhu and Ghaghopa all of whom were followers of the aforesaid great Siddha Santagupta. He then went to Mahābodhi in the middle country and made a small house for meditation close to the north of Vajrāsana. Afterwards he visited the eight great shrines and Gridhrakuta Giriguphā and Prayāga. Forty-six years had now elapsed since his last meeting with Tirthanāth. Then he built an assembly house on Khagendra hill to

which many Yogis resorted and he received royal patronage."

Thus we find that even in the Seventeenth Century there were to be seen a large number of the ministers of Buddhism, of both sexes, and possessing great supernatural powers,—at Haribhañja, Phukrād and Pālgarh; and many Buddhistic scriptures of importance were also to be met with there. Let us now try to find out the exact situations of these places.

We learn from the aforesaid account that from Tipperah Buddhaguptanāth went to Haribhañja. When he came here in the 17th Century, the capital of Mayurabhañja was located at Hariharapur or Haripur. We are afraid there has been a confusion of names here, the name of the capital having been taken for the name of the whole country. Thus Haribhañja of the Tibetan traveller was no other than the old Mayūrabhañja. It had for a long time been the centre of Buddhistic influence. Here it was that Buddhaguptanāth visited the Haribhañja-chaitya; and it was here also that he learned many an esoteric truth from the lips of a great Dharma Pandit and also from a Buddhistic Upāsikā named Hitagarbhañhā.

Haribhanja
Chaitya.

Phukrād or Phugrād.—The Tibetan word *Phug* means the solitary dwelling place of the Lāmās for the purpose of meditation; and *Phugpa* means "a recess in a rock, a cave." Hence Phugrād means a Rāḍha 'country' abounding in recesses or caves for the meditation of the Siddhas. As the entire province of Mayūrabhañja or for the matter of that, the hilly parts of it are known as Rāḍha to the people, it may not be unsafe to infer that Phukrād, in the above account, refers to the hilly tracts of Mayūrabhañja interspersed with Siddhaguhās,

Pukrad.

Palgar.

It is very likely that Pālgaḍa was but another name of the modern Pāllaharā, one of the eighteen Gaḍajāts or Feudatory States of Orissa. It is said that at one time the descendants of the Pāla Kings reigned here ; and the ruins of Buddhism are still to be met with there in large numbers.

Discovery
of a modern
Chaitya.

We should now try to find out the exact locality of the Haribhañja Chaitya, where Hita-garbha-Ghaṇā, the Buddhist Upāsikā, presided, where a vast number of Buddhist Āraṇyikas lived and moved and many a religious book was read and taught, and where from far-off countries, students and observers flocked in large numbers to be initiated into the mysteries of the religion.

Both from the small Chaitya that has recently been discovered near Bodhipukhur in the village of Baḍasāi, and the materials that can be gathered from the place, it appears to be very likely that the ancient Haribhañja Chaitya must have been situated somewhere near it. One will invariably see in Nepal that wherever there was a big chaitya, there was also a large number of smaller ones about it and built in imitation of it. In Nepal the images of Ādi Buddha, Pañcha Dhyāni Buddha and Triratna (*i.e.* Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha) are to be found enshrined in every Chaitya and by the side of each Chaitya are to be met with the statues of Hārīti and Īṭalā. The small Chaitya discovered near Baḍasāi is known to the Hindus as Chandrasenā. It is considered to have been either the prototype or the foundation of a larger one. The following lines well express the general import of the chaityas :—

“ The chaitya may be regarded as the foundation on which the ecclesiastical architecture of the Buddhists is based, and as supplying the model from which nearly all their principal

temples whether they be dedicatory, memorial or funeral, have been constructed.”

Thus writes Dr. Oldfield about the Buddhistic chaityas of Nepal—

“In almost all chaityas of whatever size, small as well as large, round the base of the hemisphere there are four niches or shrines—one opposite to each of the four cardinal points—in which are placed seated figures of four out of the five Divine Buddhas—Akṣobhya is enshrined in the eastern niche, Ratnasambhava in the southern, Amitābha in the western and Amoghasiddha in the northern. There is always a shrine to Vairochana.”

In this model chaitya are to be found four figures in the four niches. They represent Akṣobhya and three other Dhyāni Buddhas with their Vāhanas and Bodhisattvas. By the side of this chaitya is an image of Dharma. Similar figures are also to be met with by the side of the majority of the chaityas in Nepal. In the following passages the reader will find an accurate description of this figure of Dharma :—

“Dharma’s figure is always that of a female with prominent bosoms, two of her hands are brought together in front of her chest with the points of the fore fingers and thumbs in contact as in the Dharmachakramandrā of Vairochana; in a third hand she holds either a lotus flower or else a book containing the scriptures or law of Buddha; and in her fourth hand she has a Mālā or rosary of beads.”

“In a shrine at the Chillandeo temple, Kirtipur, the figure of Dharma, on the left of Buddha, has four hands of which two are empty, in the third is a book and in the fourth a rosary.”

This description of Dharma is exactly applicable in the case of the figure found at Baḍasai. Another figure of a similar description—but with two hands,—was also found in the Mahā Bodhi at Gayā, bearing inscriptions of the 12th Century A. D. In his Virāṭa Gītā, Balarāma Dāsa is found to have said “*धर्मवर्ण हला शक्ति*” i.e., ‘Çakti or the creative power took the form of Dharma.’ In Nepal she is also known as Guhyeçvari. At Baḍasāi the figure of Çītalā is to be seen close by the image of Dharma. This practice of enshrining the figure of Çītalā in close proximity of that of Dharma is also followed in Nepal. “The goddess Çītalā was universally believed to afford necessary protection to all who sought her aid. The Buddhists accordingly recognised her divinity and besought her protection; they enrolled her among the list of their subordinate deities and erected a temple to her honour beneath the very shadow of the temple of Ādi Buddha at Çambhunāth.”

The existence of the model chaitya and the figures of Dharma and Çītalā afford us strong grounds for believing that at one time there was also a larger chaitya in the vicinity. These images had formerly been located in the close proximity of a tank, known as Bodhipukur, probably from the Buddhistic chaitya, and have only been recently brought into the village. Extensive corn-fields only are, however, to be seen now, rolling far and away from the embankments of the tank on all sides—no relics of the supposed ancient chaitya, no, not even a faint shadow of them, will now satisfy the longing gaze of the antiquary.

When the Tibetan pilgrim visited the country, the Bhañja Rājās had their capital at Haripur. From here Bodhipukur was only five miles off.

Excepting the small chaitya and the image of Dharma that we came upon in the course of our exploration and antiquarian researches, no Buddhistic relics of any kind, of a modern chaitya were to be found in the locality. So it will not be very wide of the mark to infer, we presume, that the Haribhañja chaitya referred to by the Tibetan pilgrim, existed somewhere near Baḍasāi,—and here it was that he met with a Dharma Paṇḍita and received many esoteric instructions. In the course of our researches in the village we came across also some Oriya Mss. such as Siddhānta-ḍambara, Anākāra Saṁhitā, Amarapaṭala, and songs of Govinda Candra, the great mendicant King of Bengal.

Thus these facts cannot but convince the most casual thinker that this place was once the centre of Buddhistic thought and activity.

Dr. Oldfield thus explains the views of the Buddhist Newars :—

“The Materialists (*i. e.* the follower of the ancient Mahāyāna system) assign the first place in their Trinity to *Dharma*, as the spirit representing matter, from which everything in heaven or earth originally sprung.

“They deify Dharma as a goddess, under the names of Ādi-Dharma, Prajñā Devī, Dharma Devī, Ārya-Tārā; using any or all of these epithets as synonyms to signify the supreme, self-existent powers of *Nature*, whom they worship as the universal *Mother*, not only of all mankind, but of all the heavenly deities. All Buddhists are her children, and, therefore, all are brothers.

“The Materialists make Buddha subordinate to Dharma, and give him the second place in

their trinity. They look on him as derived from Dharma, springing from her as a son from a parent, and then reacting upon her in some mysterious way, the result of which was the production of the Buddhas and of all other animated beings.

"Saṃgha, the Materialists regard as the type of all the forms of visible nature, which are produced by the creative power inherent to matter and which spontaneously result from the union and association of Dharma with Buddha."^{*}

In the course of our sojourn at Baḍasāi† we came to learn that once there lived a caste known as 'Yogis' there. They had in their possession several Mss. treating of the Dharma cult. Their professional duty was to sing songs relating to Rājā Govinda Chandra and the praises of Dharma. From Baḍasāi they migrated to the Nilgiri where they are even now to be found. We happened to find here in the house of a poor rustic a Ms. entitled "The Songs of Rājā Govinda Chandra" by Kālabhārati. Formerly it was the property of an old Yogi resident of the place. We do strongly believe that if a thorough and sifting search be instituted for the purpose at Baḍasāi and the surrounding places, similar important manuscripts can be recovered from oblivion and impending destruction.

We have said above that in the course of our exploration in Baḍasāi we have found the figures of Dharma and Cītalā only. Now it may reasonably be asked—How is it that the images of Buddha and Saṃgha are not included in the group, if the

* Dr. Oldfield's Nipal, Vol. II p. 95-97.

† Vide Report on Baḍasāi.

place was, as asserted, a centre of Buddhistic influence? On this point, some are of opinion that these were removed or destroyed by the Mahomedans or the Marāthās. What, however, appears to us to be a more reasonable explanation is that in course of time a greater importance came to be attached to Dharma, and Buddha and Saṃgha happened to be relegated to less important places. When Dharma came to be worshipped in form, she was considered to be superior to Buddha and Saṃgha by a sect of the Buddhists. Thus in Svayambhū-P'ūrāṇa she is addressed as follows—

“शूनतां शूनतां माता बुद्धमाता प्रकीर्त्तिता ” ॥ (३ अः)

“The mother, the void of the great void is spoken of as the Buddhamātā.”

In the Uriya Ms. of Çūnya Saṃhitā by Achyutānanda Dāsa it is said—

“बुद्ध माता आदिशक्ति सङ्गच्छन्ति कहि ।” (१० अः)

“Thus I say, take refuge in Buddha, in Mātā Ādiśakti *i.e.* the primordial energy (Dharma) and the Saṃgha.”

Why Dharma is still worshipped and why Buddha and Saṃgha have been entirely cast in the shade, are sufficiently explained in these passages. Brāhmaṇas are not allowed to officiate in the worship of the above Dharma, Çītalā or Chaitya ; but worship is offered to these deities by the lower class of Dehuries. Formerly, only the Bāthuries were in enjoyment of this privilege and even now they are sometimes seen to officiate as priests at the pujās of these deities. The day of the full moon in Vaisākha is a sacred day of the Buddhists. Throughout the whole Buddhis-

tic world, it is observed in connection with the nativity, the spiritual enlightenment and the Mahāparinirvāṇa of Buddha. And on this Vaisākhi Pūrṇimā day worship is also offered to the abovementioned Buddhistic Chaitya, Chandra-Senā.* and a great festival is held. This practice has obtained for a long time past and is known in the locality as Uḍāparva. Some twenty to twenty-five thousand low class people muster there on the occasion, the Bāthuris, of course, forming the majority. Dressed as *Bhakats*, they celebrate the ceremony of the Chaitya Pūjā, suffer themselves to be pierced without a murmur with a hook, and merrily and lustily swing on the Chaḍaka.

A very great enthusiasm prevails on the occasion. Sometimes even so large a number as two hundred *Bhakats* vie with one another to have their bodies pierced with hooks—impelled by a strong and irresistible desire to have their vows to the effect literally fulfilled ; a piece of cloth is then tied round their bodies over the pierced parts, and lustily do they enjoy swings on the Chaḍaka post planted for the purpose. Even the public in general regard this festival held once annually, as a highly holy and dignified one. Even the Brāhmaṇas are second to no other castes in their regard and enthusiasm for this festival. Including as it did the worship of the images of the five divine Buddhas and the Bodhisattvas, it was an object of great sanctity and veneration to the Buddhists. In Nepal too, a similar worship is offered in the places in which similar figures have been enshrined.

* That Chandra-sena is associated with Buddhism is unmistakably borne out by the Oriya poet Manohara Daśa in his *Amarkosa Gīta*. See p. ccxxxvi.

At Baḍasāi the Chaitya is worshipped only once a year *viz.*, on the Vaiṣākḥī Pūrṇimā day when the Uḍāparva is celebrated; but the case of Ītalā is quite different. For long she has been frequently receiving the worship of the Hindus and the Buddhists alike. The figure of Ītalā now passes there for that of Kālikā, and for this reason even the Brāhmaṇas feel no scruples in worshipping her. But generally the worship of this deity is entrusted to the low class Dehuris, who have been in return for this service long enjoying the benefits derived from the property endowed and set apart for the performance of the worship.

Beside this chaitya and the images of Dharma and Ītalā, there are also to be found near Rānibandh only 3 miles off from Baḍasāi, beautiful figures of Khaṣarpaṇa Lokeṣvara (Avalokiteṣvara) and Ārya Tārā, and also an image of Jāṅguli Tārā, near Haripur. These are the only remnants, that have been recovered, of Buddhism, and in a place where only two centuries and a half before there flourished many a Buddhistic upāsaka and upāsikā, where there flocked Buddhist priests and laymen even from Tibet and other distant places to have a view of the famous chaitya which once stood towering there, and where many a student came to obtain esoteric instructions, undeterred by the difficulties and obstacles that would encounter him on his way.

We have remarked, while dealing with Dharma Gītā, that its author, Mahādeva Dāsa, flourished in the 17th Century. As one of the results of a critical study of his work, one has to come to the irresistible conclusion that like Rāmāi Paṇḍit of Bengal, he also set his mind upon the extollation and promulgation of the glories and great-

nesses, powers and potencies of Dharma as the sole object of his life. Though some minor differences may be observed in the histories of religious development in Rāḍha and Utkal due to differences in the natural constitutions of the two countries, the changes wrought upon them by time and the differences in the mental constitution of the people of the two provinces, extending over centuries, yet there can but be little doubt that originally these histories are but one and the same, just as much as the two branches of the same tree. And it seems to us that the Tibetan pilgrim referred to some such Paṇḍit as this Mahādeva Dāsa the author of Dharma Gītā. Further, it also seems very likely to us that the esoteric works, referred to by the Tibetan pilgrim are nothing but the religious books composed by Balarāma, Jagannātha, Achyutānanda, Ananta, Yaçovanta, Chaitanya, Mahādeva and others of their stamp.

We find sufficient traces of the great sway which the doctrine of Çūnya, discussed above at some length, once exercised upon the minds of men in the religious literature of the poets and gentlemen who hallowed and sanctified Utkala in this century or the century after. A study of such works as the Mahimaṇḍala Gītā of Arakṣita Dāsa, the Çūnyarāsa of Nāraṇa Dāsa, the Brahma-jñāna-Gītā of Paraçurāma Dāsa and the Nāma-Brahma Gītā of Dinakṛṣṇa Dāsa will clearly convince any one of the truth of our assertion.

THE REVIVAL OF BUDDHISM.

We have learnt from the various religious books of Utkala of the 16th, the 17th and even of the 18th century, that many crypto Buddhists

were then residing in various parts of the country. In the hills and the forests of the Gaḍa-jāts, they cherished the loving memory of their religion and made no secret of it amongst themselves, though, in society, they passed for devout Vaiṣṇavas. The Buddhist pilgrims of Tibbet and other far-off places who came on visits to India did, however, see through their veils and acknowledged them to be their co-religionists.

On this point, we have in the last Census Report, "In the 17th century Buddha-Guptanātha wandered in various parts of India and found Buddhism flourishing in many places. Then it is lost altogether. For two or three centuries Buddhism was absolutely unknown in India."*

We cannot, however, fully subscribe to the above statement. There is ample evidence to show that even after the 18th century Buddhism was not altogether a lost creed—the much-honoured memory of Buddha was not altogether a forgotten thing in India. We find in the Amarakoṣa of Manohara Dāsa written only hundred years back, the following line :—

Incarnation
of Buddha
in the 19th
century.

“अर्जुन बुद्ध हेले जीव परम हेले कृष्ण ।”

“Arjuna *i.e.* Buddha is Jīva (the individual soul) and Kṛṣṇa is *parama* (*i.e.* the universal soul).”

While dealing with the Buddhist relies at Baḍasāi, we have noticed that there is a model Chaitya there, which is generally known by the

* Census Report of Bengal, 1901, Pt. I. p. 203.

name of 'Chandrasenā.' Of this Chandrasenā the same author says—

“चन्द्रसेना नामे एक दुयारि ।
घाट साधु अकि पथ आवरि ॥
ताहा सङ्गि येवे एरवे होइ ।
बुद्ध पाइले भितरक घाइ ॥”

“A door-keeper named Chandrasenā, who is also a tol-collector, is keeping watch upon the door. Any one, desirous of entering it, must make himself known to him. And if he be convinced that the visitor is a Buddhist, then and then only will he allow him admission.”

Hence do we clearly see, that only so far as a century back the holy name of Buddha was on the lips of many crypto Buddhists who outwardly professed the Vaiṣṇava creed; nay, they even recognised Buddha as Jivātman or the individual soul.

From a careful study of the Buddhistic scriptures, whether of ancient or of much later times, we do learn that the Buddhists never passed themselves for such, nor did they ever designate their faith as Buddhism. In every page of the history of their religion, they are found to have called it simply Dharma or at most 'Saddharma' or 'Sadharma', and to have styled themselves as 'Dharmin' or 'Saddharmin'. Following suit, the Utkala community of the veiled Buddhists has given the name 'Mahimā-dharma' to its creed and styles itself as 'Mahimā-dharmin.' Under the benign spirit of religious toleration and the noble and fostering spirit of freedom of thought inaugurated and scrupulously adhered to by the British Government, this community has begun, for over 40 years, to rouse itself up,

to throw off its masks and to re-assert itself duly. We shall attempt to give below a brief history of its struggle for renascence.

For long these Utkala Buddhists had been cherishing the happy belief, handed down from generation to generation, that Buddha would again grace the world in flesh and blood for the diffusion of knowledge and the propagation of true religion. For over four hundred years such devout souls as Achyutānanda, Yaçovanta, and others had been singing of this. And we have it on the authority of the subsequent writers that their prediction has been literally fulfilled.

We have come to learn from 'Alekha-lilā,'* a religious book and also from the lips of many Mahāntas of this sect that about 50 years ago Bhagavat Buddha came down into the world. The subject of his worship was the Alekha-Brahma or the Great Void, and his object, the deliverance of the world. At first Bhagavat Buddha blessed the village of Golāsiṅgā in the State of Baud. Ćrī Jagannātha also left Nīlāchala and came down to join him there. When Jagannātha was granted the interview he sought for, he asked of Buddha, "Would you please enlighten me on the points which have filled my heart with misgivings? Under whose direction and why have you come down as Guru?" And he replied "Then hear me, O Jagannātha (Lord of the world)—Under orders of Alekha, the Formless, I have come here. He, and none else, is the Great

* "वन्दे अलेखब्रह्म महाशूने स्थित । परब्रह्मस्वामी यार चरणे अक्षति ।"
(अलेखलीला १)

"I make my obeisance to Alekha Brahman who dwells in the great void and at whose feet lies prostrate the Great Lord Para-Brahman."

Void—the Formless One without a beginning—the Highest of Gurus. The Kali has manifested itself everywhere. It is to destroy sin of the Kali-yuga that I have undergone incarnation.* Permit me, please, to initiate you into the doctrines of the true religion; then for the good of humanity, go to Kapilās and remain stock-still in a trance” Upon this, he delegated all his powers to lord Jagannātha who, then, went away, as directed, to Kapilās in the Dhenkāṇal State. Here he came to be known by the name of Govinda. And here, for the good of humanity, he remained deeply absorbed in a trance for a period of full twelve years. His staple food, then, was simply a very small quantity of milk and fresh water. At the expiration of the trance, he descended

* “श्रेष्ठे वेले बुद्धस्वामी रुतें विजे कलि ।

काहाकु ये दीखा देइ सभें विचरिले ॥

गुरुस्वामी ये मनरे जानिले अन्तर्यामी ॥ ५

एकाम्बरें बुद्धस्वामी शून्यमार्गें गले ।

बउद ये गोलासिद्धा यामरे मिलिले ॥

बुद्धरूप ऐ, नशतन वेश कले गोकारे ॥ ६

नीलाचल तेजिण ये जगन्नाथ गले ।

गोलासिद्धा भूमिर पाइ ये मठ कले ॥

रहिले ये, बुद्धस्वामी याइण भेटिले ये ॥ ७

जगन्नाथ कहन्छन्ति शुणिमा गोसाइ ।

तुम्हे केँइ गुरु माते जनात न जाइ ॥

फेडि कइ ये, शुणि मनु फिटिब रुन्देइ ये ॥ ८

बुद्धस्वामी कहन्छन्ति शुण जगन्नाथ ।

अलिख आजारे आसि होइ उपगत ॥

महाशून्य ये, अरूप अनादि गुरुस्वामी से ॥ ९

कलिपाप भाष ये नाश हव सुमति ।

आम्ह तहुँ अनेक प्रकारे कला हपति ॥

पापनाश ये, कलियुग समथर ज्ञास ये ॥” १० इत्यादि

(अलिखलोला)

from Kapilās, and for the propagation of the “Mahimā Dharma,” blessed Bhīma Bhoi with ‘the eye of knowledge’ *i.e.* insight and self-consciousness. Then he disappeared, none knew whither, after having initiated into the true religion, many pious souls in Kapilās, Khandagiri, Mañināga, and many other places.*

It is in many of the ancient religious books of Utkala that Jagannātha himself has been described as the incarnation of Buddha. In view of this, the above quotation may well lead one to question, how is it that Jagannātha, who was himself Buddha, was initiated by Buddha? The answer is not far to seek, if we will only take the troubles for it. Holders of this faith do never say that there was only one Buddha. Like the Mahāyānas of yore they also admit of a multiplicity of the incarnations of Buddha. And in support of their view they quote the following lines, quoted by us previously, from the Nirguṇa-māhātmya of Chaitanya Dāsa—

“बहुत बुद्ध अवतारे । हरि जन्मिले ए संसारे ।”

“Many were the incarnations of Hari as Buddha.”

We find a detailed narration of this in the Buddhist Jātakas. We have shewn before, in connection with our treatment of the Pañchādhyāni Buddhas, that out of the lustre of the self-existent first Buddha came the Dhyāni Buddha; and out of the latter’s came Bodhisattva. Dhyāni Buddha is engaged in a trance which is free from, and above, all illusions and doubts and it is Bodhisattva who fulfils

* According to some Buddha Svāmīn again started the religious cycle in A.D. 1864.

and brings to realization all his wishes and desires for the good of humanity. So we may accept the Buddhasvāmin of Alekha-līlā as Dhyāni Buddha, and Jagannātha as Bodhisattva or Padmapāṇi.

And just as Çākya Buddha entrusted Ānanda with the task of propagating his 'Saddharma,' so Bodhisattva in the form of Govinda (Jagannātha) left the duty of propagating his Mahimā dharma to his favourite disciple, Bhīma Bhoi.

Some of the adherents of this creed even hold that after Jagannātha had left Nilāchala, he gave up his individual existence, and becoming one and the same with Buddhasvāmin in body and soul, went on with the task of more and more widening the circle of this religious movement. We find a detailed account in one of the scriptures of this sect, entitled Yaçomatī-mālikā, as to when, why and how this movement was set on foot and carried on by Buddha ; and we give just a glimpse of it to our readers by quoting at random from the same :—

"Garuḍa is addressing Jagannātha—

* 'When wilt Thou that art the four-handed (Viṣṇu) incarnate Thyself in the form of Buddha of whom you have just spoken?'

"Hearing these words of Garuḍa the Lord replied, 'Hear me, O Lord of birds, I shall explain this to you in detail. But, bear in mind, what I am going to tell you is a *very great secret*, and you must not open your lips to any body about it.' 4-6.

* * * * *

* 'बुद्ध चत्वार रूपं बहिष्कृत्य यादा ।

मेते वेले सेहिदप उरस्य श्रीवादा ॥ ४

“Hear my child, I shall tell you all. I am anxiously waiting for the time when Kali-yuga will come to its close. In the forty-first year (of the reign) of Mukunda Deva, I shall give up this life as Buddha and disappear altogether. And when I shall renounce this body, all the gods will follow suit, for Hari, Hara, Brahmā and myself are but one; and my soul will live in that of the Alekha. 133-136. Then assuming a form with the help of māyā, I shall pass for an *avadhūta* and be worshipping the lord Alekha. Then Kali will arrive there, complete in its four parts, and Brahman of great lustre, though nothing but the void, will assume a form and be born in the world. And this new god, the realiser of the wishes and desires of men, will visit Khaṇḍa-giri, Maṇināga and Kapilāsa. And satisfying his hunger and thirst with fruits, leaves of trees, milk and water, will be playing his various illusive tricks, the wide world over. But none, man or god, will be able to know when he will be

गरुड वचन शृणि प्रभु बलि मीर ।

शृणु तादा बुभाइ कहिवा पचिवर ॥ ५

अतिहि गुप्त कथा कहि देवा तीते ।

काहि न कहिबु एहा बुझि याह चिते ॥ ६ ० ० ०

“शृणुरे नन्दन तीते दिउअच्छि कहि ।

कलियुग शेष कतु थिबु वाट चाहि ॥ १३३

मुकुन्ददेवइ एकचाखिशि अइरे ।

बुडुइपकु तेजि थिबु गुप्तरे ॥ १३४

आम्हे येते बेलि पिण्ड लजिबुरे सुत ।

सकख देवता याक हेवे सेइ मत ॥ १३५

हरिहर ब्रह्मा एक अटइति सुँहि ।

निज आत्मा थिव मीर अलेखर तँहि ॥ १३६

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born. 137-141. With the intention in his mind of playing a part with men upon the stage of the world, the Çūnyapuruṣa will undergo this incarnation—because the world will then be a hot-bed of vice and sin. Under my orders, many of his devotees have long been undergoing the pains of birth. In the incarnation as Buddha, he will play the rôle of Guru, preceptor, and will impart knowledge to and enlighten the minds of his disciples who will be known by the kumbhipaṭa (bark of a Kumbhi tree) they will put on. . . . 142-144. But veiled as he will then be, few but Bhīma Bhoi, his quondam follower, will be able to recognise him. He will first sing the praises of the Lord and will attain the position and honour of becoming one and the same with Çūnya of the Alekha-maṇḍala. And thereafter, under the precepts of the Guru, pious

माया काया धरि अबधूत बुलाइयुं ।
 अलिख प्रसङ्ग आश्रमे सेवा करि थिंनु । १३७
 चगुर पादे कलि पासि घुठिलाक मही ।
 महातेज ब्रह्म उदै हवे शून्यदेही ॥ १३८
 नवकल्पटारु प्रभु उदै ई थिवे ।
 खण्डगिरि मणिनाग कलियास ठावे ॥ १३९
 फल पत्र चीर जल करिण आहार ।
 खिल खिलुथिवे प्रभु ब्रह्माखे यांकर ॥ १४०
 नर मनुष्य ये आदि देवलोका यार ।
 जानि न पारिवे केहि प्रसङ्ग उदये ॥ १४१
 मे शून्यपुरुष माने बिचार ये कल ।
 नर सङ्गे मछे खिला करिबु बडले ॥ १४२
 महाधीर पातक हेब अनोर ।
 भक्ते जात हइच्छति आजारि आभर ॥ १४३
 बुद्धरूप धरि गुरुरूपे ज्ञान देवे ।
 कुम्भिपट देइ वाना प्रकाश करिवे ॥ १४४

men will sing the praises of the name of Mahimā—to their hearts' content." 145-147.

From the above quotation it is clear and evident that Jagannātha generally passed for Buddha till the 41st ayka (year) of the reign of Mukunda Deva of Utkala. And we have learnt from the pen of the Tibetan Lāmā Tāra-nātha, a historian of Buddhism, that this Mukunda Deva was in reality a staunch and faithful worshipper of Buddha and was generally known by the name of "Dharma-rāja." It was during his time that the notorious Kālāpāhāḍa carried on his formidable crusade against Hinduism and Buddhism; and it was with the close of his long reign that the Buddhists began to pass their lives in concealment and seclusion. Behind the temple which now generally passes as the Temple of Sūrya Nārāyaṇa, and situated within the very precincts of the famous temple of Jagannātha, is a gigantic statue in stone of Buddha sitting in the Bhūmisparṇa-mudrā. Strange to say, a massive wall has been built up just in front of this statue, completely obstructing the view of it from outside. This statue, which could otherwise have spoken volumes of past history, has all along remained a sealed book to the majority of observers and visitors. We have, however, come to know, as the result of a very sifting investigation, that this temple dedicated to Buddha is

अतिदि ये चीणरूप न चिनिवे कीदि ।

पूर्व्वर भक्त ये चिनिव भीम भोई ॥ १४५

ताङ्ग मुञ्जे प्रभुङ्कर भजन हइव ।

अलेख मण्डल शून्यपद ये रहिव ॥ १४६

भक्त जने गाइ ताङ्गा परम सन्तोषि ।

महिमा नाम गायन गुरु उपदेशे ॥ १४७

(प्रथमतः म । । का)

much older than the chief temple of Jagannātha itself. It is not at all improbable that upon the close of the career of Rājā Mukunda Deva, the obstructing wall was built up to hide the statue from the public eye ; and it may also be the case that the tradition of the image of Jagannātha as Buddha being hidden from view dates its origin from this time.

Mahima-
dharma or
New
Buddhism.

The Brahmanic theory that when the pan of virtue is quickly kicked up, Bhagavat undergoes incarnation and comes down into the world to lighten the heavy burden of sin and vice, is also shared by the Mahāyāna Buddhists. So the belief in the birth and life of a Buddha is in no respect absurd or incongruous. The followers of the Mahimā-dharma creed do indeed consider themselves blessed when they point to Khaṇḍagiri, Maṇināga and Kapilāsa as being the places where this new Buddha displayed himself in all his glory and splendour.

In answer to any query as to the date of the commencement of this new religious movement under the name of Mahimā-dharma or New Buddhism, the followers of the creed recite the following few lines from Yaçomatī-mālikā :—

“दिव्यसिंहदेवद्वय एकदश अङ्कुरे ।
अरिष्ट हृदय जात ए कलियुगरे ॥ १६७
जनत्रिंश अङ्कु ये शुष आरि वीर ।
अतिहि प्रबल युद्ध हृदय निकर ॥ १६८
एकचालिंश अङ्कुरे ह्रैव समापत ।
चौबन से पुन एक धर्म सत्य ॥ १६९
नौच कुल भक्त कुल हुयन्ति से जात ।
अलेख नामकु शुषि हृदये आश्रित ॥” १७०

“ In the twenty-first aṅka (year) of the reign of Divya-Siṃha Deva, will a very sad event

occur in the Kali-yuga, and in the twenty-ninth year a very terrible war will break out, as sure as anything, and will end only in the forty-first year—re-establishing the only true religion. 'The devotee of this new creed, though of mean extraction, will, we hear, be in the special good graces of Alekha.'

Thus we learn that the revival of Buddhism in the name of Mahimā-dharma took place in the twenty-first year of the reign of Divya-Siṃha, late King of Puri, *i.e.* in 1875. It was in this year that the devout Bhīma Bhoi, whose words were inspired, most solemnly declared to the world the truth and greatness of the Mahimā-dharma. And we have heard from the lips of the preceptors of this sect that it was about this time also that a large number of books, evidently written to establish the truth and high character of the religion, was discovered underground inside a large closed copper vessel. Chief amongst these are the works of Jagannātha, Balarāma, Achyutānanda, Yaçovanta and Chaitanya Dāsa.

The reader will surely be interested to learn, in this connection, the names of the books that are held as the greatest scriptures by these followers of the Mahimā-Dharma. These are—1, Viṣṇugurbhapurāṇa and Nirguṇa Māhātmya by Chaitanya Dāsa; 2, Chhattiṣā or Gupta Gītā by Balarāma Dāsa; 3, Tulābhīnā by Jagannātha Dāsa and 4, Ćūnya-Saṃhitā and Anādi-Saṃhitā by Achyutānanda Dāsa.

The scriptures of Mahima Dharma.

We are conscious that before proceeding further, our first and foremost duty is to give here a brief account of Bhīma Bhoi, who is not only the leader but is almost the propagator of this renaissance. We find the following

Bhima-bhoi Araksita-dasa.

autobiographical sketch in his own Kali Bhāgavata :—

Born blind, Bhīma Bhoi came of the low Kanda family and first saw the light of the day in the village of Jurandā in the Dhenkānal State. His full name was Bhīma Sena Bhoi Arakṣitadāsa. He managed to earn his livelihood by husking the corn and doing other menial works for his neighbours, but he always uttered the name of the Lord, and had his mind concentrated upon His thought. And thus were passed about the first twenty-five years of his life. At length, tired of the heaviness of his life, and extremely grieved that the Lord had not yet taken pity upon his wretchedness, he determined to put an end to his life. With this end in view, he set out from his cottage and in the course of his wanderings dropped down into a well. Here he passed three days and three nights. Hearing of this, the villagers flocked to the scene of occurrence and tried to persuade him by all the means in their power to give up the determination of sacrificing his life; but he turned a deaf ear to all their entreaties. At length the Lord took pity upon him and at the end of the third night He assumed His own form and standing upon the brink of the well addressed Bhīma Bhoi in an affectionate tone. The latter told him of the griefs that were gnawing at his heart; whereupon the Lord asked him to look up and behold Him. And when in obedience to this, he turned his eyes up, the born blind saw above his head, in flesh and blood, the object of his loving adoration standing in all His glory! His whole heart was overflowing with veneration. The Lord extended His hand towards him; he seized it firmly and in the twinkling of an eye he found himself standing side by side with his god. The Lord said, "You

have obtained this interview by virtue of your prayers to me. Now I ask you to go abroad, and to publish and spread my favourite religion Alekha Dharma." He then gave him a long flowing garment called 'Kaupina' and a belt with the following instructions, "You are to accept only alms of boiled rice for yourself. Take care that you never ask for or accept rice or anything else. And thus keeping together your body and soul with the boiled rice that you will get, you are to propagate the Mahimā-dharma." Then scrupulously following the directions of his Lord, he put on the *kaupina*, went to an adjacent village and begged alms. The owner of the house came out rice in hand, but he declined to accept this, and said "Just give me boiled rice sufficient for myself alone." The villagers heard of this, laughed at the queer idea and thought "What religion is this that aims at the abolition of the time-honoured caste system, by making its followers live upon alms of boiled rice, irrespective of the caste or creed of the giver!" They then conferred together and determined that this new religion, a much dreaded leveller of castes, should be allowed no room whatsoever in the village. And they translated their resolution into practice by beating him off the village. Bhīma Bhoi got enraged at this, cast off his *kaupina* and belt, and proceeded towards Kapilāsa. When he had gone half way, he met with his Lord. On hearing of the intentions of Bhīma Bhoi, the latter got extremely offended and exclaimed, "You have not as yet attained *siddhi*, I suspect, or why should you take to your heels after you have been beaten?" He then bound him fast with ropes and brought him back to Jurandā; and shut him in a temple. Then all the openings were closed and he said aloud "I

shall clap thrice, O Bhīma Bhoi, and, if you have attained Siddhi, you will be able to come out." The Lord then sat down at the foot of a tree close by. He clapped thrice, and lo ! Bhīma was standing before his preceptor again. At this the latter grew much pleased and said "I am satisfied now that you have attained *siddhi*. Now then I ask you to stay on in this place, to write verses about my religion and thus to spread it. You have no further need of wandering over the world." Bhīma Bhoi then married in compliance with the wishes of his preceptor and attended to all the household duties of man ; but the underlying principle of his life was the propagation of his religion. To effect this he wrote several poetical works, the foremost being his Kali Bhāgavata, and composed many charming hymns (Bhajana-padāvali). In connection with our detailed treatment of the Mahimādharmā hereafter, a few of these poems have been quoted *in extenso*, so we abstain from reproducing any here.

Ere long the fame of Bhīma Bhoi spread far and wide. Hearing his immortal instruction helping in the attainment of real knowledge and illumining the head and the heart, the mighty pillars of the caste system forgot themselves and stooped at his feet, though the blood of the low Kanda ran in his veins. They considered him to be a spark from the Eternal Flame of truth and knowledge and flocked around him like flies around a burning lamp. And then, before several years had elapsed, the Mahimā-dharma could count its followers by thousands. Bhīma Bhoi had heard a voice from heaven to the effect that with the revival of the Mahimā-dharma the hidden state of Jagannātha as Buddha would again be brought to light. To have this state-

ment realised and firmly believing in it, he did now call upon his numerous disciples to come and join their forces with him. Fired with the zeal of devotion and piety, they madly obeyed his call and mustered strong under his standard. Indeed the most prominent part in the war, of which we read so much in Yaçomatī-mālikā and which, we are told, occurred in the 29th aṅka, of the reign of Divyasīmha Deva of Puri,—the most prominent part in these wars was played by Bhīma Bhoi himself. Having equipped themselves, as best as they could, with the weapons of war, the people of about 30 villages marched upon Puri under the leadership of their preceptor. The news of their advance had already reached Puri, and the Rājā with his personal guards, was waiting to receive them duly. It was rumoured that the object of the Kuṁbha-*patiā* invaders was to burn the images of Jagan-nātha, Balarāma and Subhadrā and spread the doctrine of Nirākāra among the people of Puri. No little consternation was caused by this. But the Rājā was determined to fight to the last ; and he was reinforced by a body of police officers from Pipli. No sooner had Bhīma Bhoi set his foot within the limits of Puri than both the parties fell upon one another, and a fierce fight ensued. The holy city of Puri became polluted with the blood of the heroes of both sides. At length Bhīma Bhoi became convinced of the unrealizable character of his ambition, and so proclaimed amongst his warring disciples that the avoidance from doing any harm to others was the first principle of religion ; and so they should not commit sin by injuring others. He did further announce that Jagan-nātha had already left Puri in the guise of Buddha and he now understood that it was

not Buddha's intention that his image be brought to light again. What, then, was the necessity for continuing this bloody and sinful fight? Upon this instruction falling from the lips of their leader, the Mahimā-dharmins took to flight. Some of them were, however, captured by the enemy and imprisoned, and some were transported for life on charges of murder by the British Government.* At this juncture Bhīma Bhoi declared that no true religion had ever been established without self-renunciation and self-sacrifice. So the followers of Mahimā-dharma should not mourn the loss of those who had suffered persecutions at the hands of the infidels; they should rather bless and ennoble themselves by cherishing their stainless memories.

After this, for fear of persecutions by the Government they took shelter in the hills and forests of the Gaḍajāts of Utkala.

In Yaçomatīmālikā we find the following reference to those followers of the Mahimā-dharma that were the first to embrace it or that in any way helped in propagating it :†—

“I shall tell you, my son, the names of some of those followers who lived in the south. There is a trader in the circle of Padmapur, whose name is Hari Sāhu. He has married two girls of his own caste. You will know him easily; he is a devoted follower of mine. 193-195. In the east is

* Various false statements about this sect were made by the English and Vernacular papers of the time.

† “ दक्षिण दिगरे क्वलि येतेक भक्त ।

ताड नाम किक्कु तीते कहिविरे सुत ॥ १९३

पद्मपुर मण्डले एक महाजन ।

हरिसाहु बलिण ये थिव तार नाम ॥ १९४

Kuntibhoja bearing the name of Yogarāja. He will at first marry a girl of the Gārgara line, but she will soon pass off to that heaven which is the region of the Gandharvas. He will then marry a girl of the Sīmha family of Dhala-bhūma. 196-197. Inside her womb will be found, in the form of a lily, the footprints of Lakṣmī and out of that lily will be born the girl Viṣṇupriyā. When her father Yogarāja will be inspired with religious fervour, all the other devotees will also be so inspired—so great is the attachment between him and the souls of the devotees. When he will give up the ghost, he will lose himself in Brahman and will be unified with the west. The number of his followers has completed two lac3. 198-201. I shall now tell you of him who dwells in the north. His name is Rūparāja, and he has sprung from the Kṣatriya line. 202. And now I tell you of

विभा हे थिव वेणी कन्या स्वजातिरं ।
 चिनिथिव वड भक्त षटे से आम्बर ॥ १८५
 पूर्व कुन्तिभोज योगराजा नाम वद्धि ।
 प्रथमे गार्गर वंश विभा हेव सेद्धि ॥ १८६
 से कन्या गन्धर्वस्वर्गपुर चलि थिव ।
 धलदेशे सिंहवंशे पुनि विभा हेव ॥ १८७
 लज्जीङ्गर पद्मचिह्न तार गर्भे थिव ।
 विष्णुप्रिया कन्या से पद्मरु जात हेव ॥ १८८
 तार पिता योगराजा शुण्णरे नन्दन ।
 से चेतिले चेतिले आहुरि भक्तमान ॥ १८९
 निज प्राण सङ्गे भक्त अटइ से टान ।
 अबश्यरे हव चालु थिव शून्यव्रद्ध ॥ २००
 पश्चिम दिगरे ताकु मिशाडवे सुत ।
 पूरिच्छन्ति प्रभुङ्कर दुइ लल्ल भक्त ॥ २०१
 उत्तर दिगरु भक्त कहि दिवा शुण ।
 रुपरज वलि छवकुलरे जनम ॥ २०२

those who live in the east. There is only one in Bengal. But there is also a king named Sabhānanda. He has married five wives with eyes like those of the gazelle. When he will marry again a girl of the Gauṅga family, he will be a devout follower of my religion and firm in his faith. 203-205. Both he and Jaya Sāhu, a Teli of the Ghāyā class, will live about the borders of Prayāga. And there are in Gaṇḍakī the great hero Bhuja Sena and the devout Kamaliā Mālik, a Paṭhān by caste. 205-207.

“ These seven have linked together two hundreds of thousand devoted followers. To hear this, my child, makes the mind pure and free (from lust and passion). 208. Ārīdhara of the unclean caste, Ārīkaṇṭha of the Bhoja lineage, and Keṣava, Nītai, Guṇanidhi, Mārkaṇḍa and Ārīchandana of other castes—these seven devotees have brought together two hundreds of thousand

पूर्वदिके भक्त तीते कहि देवा फेड़ ।

एकला प्रवर्त्त ठारु बङ्गदेशे याइ ॥ २०३

समानन्द बलिण ये एक राजा अहि ।

पांच गुठि विभा होइखिव से मृगाची ॥ २०४

ए गङ्गवंशरे विभा होइखिव घेवे ।

जानिबु से प्रसङ्गर दृढभक्त तेवे ॥ २०५

जयसाहु बलिण ये घाया नामे तेलि ।

ए दुइ खिवे प्रयाग सीमानरे मिलि ॥ २०६

गङ्गकौरि भुजसेन बड़िया पठान ।

कमखिया मल्लिकरि भक्त श्रीमान् ॥ २०७

दुइ लक्ष भक्त ए सातकु मिश्राइण ।

निर्मल मनरे शुषि यायरे नन्दन ॥ २०८

devoted followers 209-211. These devotees will assemble themselves, male and female, in the presence of the lord, and there divert themselves by playing eternal plays with him, and their voices will be ringing in the twenty-one regions. 212-213. The lord will place the four Vedas in Pātāla (the infernal regions) and will introduce and establish the Çūnyadharma based upon anasādhanā." 214.

The author of Yaçomatīmālikā has, no doubt, been lavish in his praises of the heroes of his sect, but the persons, he speaks of, are not all fictitious, as is testified to by one and all of this sect. Such a hint as this has also fallen from the lips of many that there are now not only descendants of some of these great men, but that they are practically helping, though in secret, the promotion and propagation of this creed. The pioneer and leader of this sect, Bhīma Bhoi, breathed his last only ten years back. His sons are now occupying the *gadi* at Jurandā. In various

श्रीधर वलिण ये अपुव जातिरे ।

भीजबंशे जात हव श्रीकण्ठ नामरे । २०८

केशव निताइ गुणनिधि नामे भक्त ।

मारकण्ड श्रीचन्दन आहुरि भक्त ॥ ११०

एते जन मिश्रिण ये हइ लल भक्त ।

जेवपूर्व अटइ से डाहिनिया भक्त ॥ १११

एते भक्त रण्ड हवे प्रमुङ्ग रहने ।

पुरुष स्त्री मिश्रिण प्रमुङ्ग सन्निधाने ॥ ११२

अनन्त खेल करिवे प्रमुङ्ग सङ्गरे ।

शवद श्रीभिव ताङ्क एकइश पुरे ॥ ११३

चारि वेद धर्म प्रभु पातालि चापिवे ।

अनसाधनारे शून्यधर्म दीक्षा दिवे ॥ ११४ (यशोमतीमालिका)

parts of the Gaḍajāts one will meet with members of this community even now. But the chief *gadi* is at Jurandā near the Kapilāsa hill in the Dhenkānal State (Bhīma Bhoi used to sit here; and now it is in the occupation of his sons). The next important place is the Baḍamaṭha in the village of Golāçingā within the Baud territory. It is the local belief that after he had left the Nilgiri hills, Jagannātha lived here as Buddha. Beside these, Mayūrabhañja is interspersed with maṭhas of this sect. In the villages of Kulogi, Koipur, Jaypur, Purnāpāni, Kendari and Purniā in the subdivision of Bāmanghāṭi; at Merughāṭi in Uparabhāga, in the village of Kesuā in Pānch Pir, in Upper Dihi and in the village of Gandu in Joshipur; in Navāpūrā, Puraṇā Bāripadā, Tālapadā and others in the Mayurabhanja Proper, there is a large number of monasteries, big and small, of this sect. These maṭhas are also to be found in a large number outside Mayūrabhañja. In about 20 to 25 villages in Keonjhar, *viz.*, Sildā, Padampur, Rāṅgāmātiā, Pukhuria, Sarai &c, in almost all the Gaḍajāts such as Dhenkānāl, Baud, Dasapallā, Tāleher, Çonapur, Gāṅgpur, Pālalaharā, Rairākhole, Āthamālik, Padampur, Sāraṅgagaḍa, Rāyagaḍa, Kalāhandi, and in almost all the Killājātas, more especially in Āli, Kanikā, Bānki, Aḍang, Kujang, Sambalpur,—in all these places monasteries of this sect are to be found. The followers of this creed are divided into two classes *viz.*, Gr̥hi (house-holder) and Bhikṣu or Sannyāsin. Almost wherever any large number of the followers of this sect have settled together, a small but neat and clean *matha* will attract the notice of the traveller. Amongst the Udāsinas (those who are indifferent to the ups and downs of life) only the most advanced are

entitled to be the *Mahānta* i.e. the head of the monastery. Common *Udāsinas* or *Bhikṣus* find shelter in these monasteries. Amongst the members of this community, numbering not less than 25,000, there are to be found people both of the higher and lower ranks of society.

The rules that regulate their monastic life are defined with some degree of clearness in the following lines :—

Monastic
life.

“The *Sujāti* (well-born *Bhikṣu*) will discard all family usages and give up all (religious) practices and observances, such as the performance of sacrifices and the making of burnt offerings. 148. Cutting off all connection with his wife and children, leaving behind his property and doing away with all religious vows and ceremonies, he will put on barks of *kumbhi* trees (*kumbhipaṭa*)¹ and wander about with matted hair. 149. He will sow the seed of (the religion of) *Mahimā* in *Jambu-dvīpa* and will himself be blessed by finding his spiritual preceptor, *Brahman*. 150. Leaving the name of *Anākāra Mahimā* (and singing His glories) he will maintain himself by begging alms of the *Nava Āudras*. 151. From *Telis*, *Tantris*, *Bhāṭas*, *Kerās*, *Rafakas*, *Kulārakas*, *Brāhmaṇas*, *Kṣatriyas* and *Chañḍālas*, listen *O Garuḍa*, no alms are to be taken. They

“सुजाति ये कुलधर्मं समस्तं कृद्धिरे ।
हंसकर्म याग क्रिया सकलं त्यजिरे ॥ १४८
शरासुत वित्तव्रत क्रिया त्याज्य करि ।
कुम्भिपटं पिप्पि शिरे धिरे जटाधरि ॥ १४९
जम्बूद्वीपे महिमाङ्कं बीजं सं बुजिरे ।
निजं ब्रह्म गुरु पाद आनन्दं लभिरे ॥ १५०
अनाकारं महिमा नामकं करि शिञ्चा ।
नव शूद्र घरे मागि खिलुद्धिरे भिक्षा ॥ १५१

(1) Hence they are called *Kumbha-Patīya*.

have been described before in the Çastras as impure. 152—153. These are of low origin and so have been marked out. 154. But the Nava Çūdras are really faithful followers of the Lord. So it is no sin to accept alms of boiled rice at their house. 155. By the great fire of the spirit of Brahman all (sins) are reduced to ashes (*i.e.* sinners are absolved); (so) he who begs alms from the house of a Çūdra, commits no sin 156. * * * * *

“No other alms (than boiled rice) are to be taken from the house of the nine Çūdras. And sleep has to be enjoyed in the proper time outside the town. 160. Death resides in the sleep which is slept in the day; and boiled rice partaken at night is productive of evil. 161. The devotee of the Lord will take his food at day-time and pass the night without food and keep awake at dead of night. 162. * * *

तेली तली भाठ केरा रजक कुलारक ।
 ब्रह्म चेतो चण्डाल ये आबु रिला पिक ॥ १५१
 एहि नव जाति घरे भिचा न घेनिवे ।
 अशुद्ध ए माने शास्त्रे लिखियाहि पूर्व्व ॥ १५२
 ए माने अठन्ति अघा जन्मसु जातकि ।
 तेनु करि नव शूद्र वाहि रखिहन्ति ॥ १५४
 नव शूद्र अठन्ति प्रभुङ्ग निज दास ।
 ताङ्ग घरे अन्नभिचा न लग्गाइ दीष ॥ १५५
 महाब्रह्मतेजरे ये हइ याइ भय ।
 शूद्र घरे भिचा कलि नाहि ताङ्ग दुष्य ॥ १५६**
 नव शूद्र घरे अन्न भिचाकु भुजिवे ।
 नगर वाहारे काल निद्राकु काटिवे ॥ १६०
 दिवसरे निद्रा कलि काल करे बाम ।
 रात्रे अन्नभोजन वाहारे हय दीष ॥ १६१
 प्रभुङ्गर भक्त ये दिवसे भुजिवे ।
 रात्रे उपवास यमकालकु जगिवे ॥ १६२

“ Keeping awake at dead of night, you will kindle the *dhuni* (fire-pit) and thus you will be able to destroy the twenty-five causes (of creation). 230. Mutterings of prayers and set forms of meditation are useless. Only try to be indifferent (to the worldly concerns) and contemplate only the name of Mahimā.” 231.

These ascetic rules (quoted from Yaçomati-mālikā) for regulating the monastic life among the followers of Mahimā-dharma are also found to have obtained in the Buddhistic Saṅgha from very early times.

Other
Points of re-
semblance
with the
Early
Buddhists.

Of the twelve or thirteen ascetic rules mentioned in the Buddhistic scriptures the Mahimā-dharmin monk has even up till now been observing the rules of Piṇḍapātika,¹ Sapadāna-chārika,² Ekāsanika,³ Pattapiṇḍika,⁴ and Khalu-paṇḍbhaktika;⁵ but these are never found to have ever been observed by Vaiṣṇava monks or ascetics or those of any other sect. Besides, the injunction of taking alms of boiled rice from the Nava Çūdras clearly marks these Mahimā-dharmins out as quite distinct and aloof

निशि उजामरेऽरुहि धूनि किं जगिषु ।

पश्चिंश प्रकृति तेवे पांशं करिषु ॥ २३०

नप नाहि तप नाहि उदासी भावरे ।

एका महिमाकु नाम जपिषु हृदरे ॥ २३१ (यशोमतीमालिका)

1. This is “ the rule to live on food obtained by begging from door to door.”

2. A rule, enjoining “ a proceeding from door to door in due order when begging.”

3. It enjoins “ eating at one sitting.”

4. It enjoins “ eating from one vessel only.”

5. It prohibits “ the taking of a meal after it has become improper to do so ; this has been interpreted as partaking of food already refused and superfluous.”

from the Vaiṣṇava or any other Hindu sect. The latter will, on no account, partake of boiled rice which has been cooked by Çudras or other low caste people.

Although Mahāyānistis of the middle ages had yielded to the worship of a number of gods and goddesses, yet the Ādi Buddhists or the Hīnayānistis had no faith whatsoever in the efficacy of these worships. And such is also the case with the modern Revivalists or Mahimā-dharmins. Nay, they follow the Hīnayānistis more closely. As a sequel to the introduction of the worships of the sun and fire into the primitive Buddhist society, the Hīnayānistis have not been able to throw off these deities altogether, though they have done away with the worships of others. And it is very interesting to note that in the Yaçomatī-mālikā of the Mahimā-dharmins, lingering traces of this faith are also to be met with.* And just as the Buddhists of the middle ages regarded Buddha or Bodhi-sattvas as being 'Devātideva' i. e. God of gods, the Mahimā-dharmins also look up to Jagannātha or Buddha

* “वेणी छड़ि राव घाउ स्नान करयिबे ।

उदे असल रबिरहु दर्शन करिबे ॥ १७१

असल बेले सेहि परि दखे माव याइ ।

नमस्कार करयिबे असलगिरि ध्याइ ॥ १७२

अग्निदेवताकु किछि अल्प मानुयिबे ।

अन्य देव देवी केहि किछि ना मानिबे ॥” १७३

“A little before dawn you will take your bath and see both the rising and the setting of the sun. 171. Just after sunset you will fix your mind upon and bow to the Astagiri (the mountain behind which the sun was supposed to set.) 172. You should have some respect for the god of fire but not any the least respect for any other god or goddess. 173.”

as being the greatest and most supreme object of worship*

We have also heard with no small surprise the essential principles of the instructions of Lord Buddha that are known in the Buddhistic circle as Dhammapada, fall from the lips of the greatest Sannyāsins of this sect. To satisfy the curiosity of the reader, let us quote here a few couplets from the Padāvali of Bhīma Bhoi, the principal scripture of this sect.

The following song was sung by him addressing the Āyapuruṣa!—

“Though Thy body is Āyanya being destitute of all forms and colours, yet Thou hast revealed Thyself. There is there no trace of a cloud, still

* “सर्वदेवता च बोधिसत्त्वस्य पादयोर्निपतिता । ततो राज्ञा यद्धोदनेन बोधिसत्त्वो देवतानामप्ययं देव इति तेन बोधिसत्त्वस्य देवातिदेव इति नामधेयं कृतम् ।”

“All the gods also fell down at the feet of Bodhi-sattva. The king Cuddhodana said “This Bodhi-sattva is the God of gods” and thus the name Devātideva was given to Bodhi-sattva.”

Divyāvadāna, p. 391.

(1) “शून्य-देही कृति उदे होइ रूप रेख नाहि हे । (घोषा)

वरसुचि जल, नाहि मेघकुल, न याइ पवन, उमचास बाइ वहे घन घन ।

वडूयछि जल, नाहि नदीकुल, उलकपात धारा होइ हे ॥ १

जक जक उदा यकिला होइछि, कपाट न फिटू नेवरे दिमुछि,

से ठारे आश्रम अनुदित ब्रह्म, उदे अस्त नाहि तेंहि हे ॥ २

बालिमाटो नाहि उबकुचि हट, गङ्गाजल छडि कूपजले साध,

लभिब मुकति न बुडिब जाति, पूर्व पुण्य धिले पाइ हे ॥ ३

मिय'दटा पद निष्कामि निर्व्वेद, कल्पना ना करि धर पद्मपाद,

न वाञ्छित दधि न करा अन्न शन्यो आशा भरसा न देहि हे ॥ ४

काइ पडिअछि नाहि बच्चमूल, पुण्य कइ नाहि फलि अछिफल,

फुटिछि पतर डेम्पि नाहि तार असाधना मार्गे पाइ हे ॥ ५

पति पत्नी रूपे करन्ति युगल, इन्द्रिअल नाहि पिन्धिछि बकल,

से प्रभु पयरे सेव निरन्तर, मये भीमसेन भोइ हे ॥ ६”

there are showers of water (from above); no wind, but all the forty-nine kinds of it are blowing furiously and frequently. Water is (found) flowing, though there are no rivers, and there are (also) meteoric showers. 1. There are there frequent flashes of lightning, but no one closes his eyes. In such a place is the abode of the unborn Brahman. There is here no rising or setting (of the sun.) 2. There is here no sand or earth and the waters of the Gaṅgā are overflowing. But if I can worship (Him) even with the waters of a well, I shall obtain salvation without losing the caste which I have come to possess through the merits of the previous life. 3. Without conceiving the Eternal Feet as attainable (only) through works done without any thought of or desire for the results and indifference (to the world), cling to the lotus-like feet (of Brahman). No need of condemning wishes and desires, no need of making one's self destitute (of all hopes and passions) and no need of giving up all hopes and expectations. 4. Shade without the tree, the fruit without the bud, and the flower and the leaf without the stalk—all these are talks of (people who follow) the way of Asādhana (non-worship). 5. He manifests Himself by creating the couple of the husband and the wife, and puts on barks of trees having no end of the senses. And so Bhīma Sena Bhoi requests all, always to worship the feet of the Lord who is so great."

These lines were addressed by Bhīma Bhoi to his Guru or preceptor Buddha-svāmin.²—

" O Thou, that art the formless and imageless Brahman, Thou art now revealing Thyself having

(2) "अनाकार अरूप ब्रह्म-मुरति हे । एवे विजे करिहन्ति धरिती हे ॥ (पद)
अरूप पुरुष रूपवत् हीइले, ब्रह्माच्छङ्कु आइले,

assumed a form. Though the Formless Person, You are now possessed of a form and have come down to the world to do good to Your devotees, being full of kindness and mercy. Now be pleased to save the piṇḍaprāṇa from the ocean of māyā and fill it with devotion. 1.

“Though the Unknowable Puruṣa, You are now bearing a name for the purpose of saving the world. When a man will live upon the juice of Mahimā-dikṣā (initiation into the Mahimā-dharma) brought about by indifference (to the world) and thus will free himself from the sins of his previous births, then will he attain, O my Lord, salvation—the end of the Virtuous. 2.

“The Indefinable Puruṣa has made himself known by coming down as a guest (as it were, into the world). The glory of Alekha is simply indefinable; He, who is the Lord of the twenty-one worlds, can be reached only through the kindness and favour of the Preceptor. 3.

“The Unimaginable Puruṣa through His imagination had limbs grown to Him. You see Him with your eyes; yet by despising Him who

भक्त हितकारी करुणा कृपाधारी, मायासिन्धुसागर एवे उपार करि,

पिण्डप्राणकु देह कर भक्ति हे ॥ १

अगमिका पुरुष नामकु बहि, रक्षा निमले मही,

निर्व्यंहर प्रकाश, महिमा दीचा रख, भजि येवे पारिव जीव पूर्वं कथन,

तेव पाइव सदगति मुक्ति हे ॥ २

अविक्त पुरुष से ये चिह्निवा देले, अपि अतिथि देले,

अलिख पद जेह लेखि न होइ सेह, गुरु पथे शकता अटंति महाबाहु,

एकुदय भुवने सेह नृपति हे ॥ ३

अकल्पन पुरुष से कल्पन कले, अह्नु सर्व्व जनमिले,

आज से करताकु नेवरे देख देख, निन्दित कर अह्नु भलुपच्छ काहाकु,

एवे महिमा-धर्म अहि पिरिधि हे ॥ ४

is it that You are worshipping? Know that this world is still existing only because there is the Mahimā-dharma. 4.

“The Imperishable Puruṣa, He is never to perish; and not only He, but Guruvija and the disciple, these two also are never to perish. All the days do pass in great bliss, the very sight of Guru destroying all evils. 5.

“In this dark Kaliyuga He has revealed Himself to the world, having assumed a form. Save this there is not a single word, so grand, so sweet and so capable of redemption. With great humility does Bhīma Arakṣita bow down at the feet of the Lord, which can confer emancipation. 6.”

Incarnation
of Buddha.

We have now been able, we hope, to establish the fact that the Mahimā-dharmins of the Gaḍajāts of Orissa are simply Buddhists. Like other Buddhists of the Mahāyāna School, they are also passing their days in the firm belief and hope that Buddha will again be incarnated. We could not do better than quote the following few lines from their Yaḍomatīmālikā to show their belief in the incarnation of Buddha and the real nature of their creed—

“चाहि कलिमयरे भक्ते कृति रहि ।

बुद्ध अवतार रूप दर्शन ना पाइ । १७७

विहारमण्डले शून्य गादि तुलाइवे ।

से अलेख प्रभु धुनिकुण्डे गुप्त थिवे ॥ १७८

अच्यय पुरुष चय हेवाकु नाहि, एकु नहि दुइ ब्रह्माण्डे गुरुबीजे शिष्य नाहा'ति केहि,
वड् हि मा पये सर्व्वे दिन थाउछि हि, गुरुदर्शने खुण्ड काळ विपति हे ॥५॥
देहधारी होइहनि मझीमण्डले, ए घोर कलिकाले,
एवना एकावर बानाहि वीरवर, बचन सुधाधार मुक्तिदानौ पयरा,
भये भौम अरचित करि विनति हे ॥ ६”

मायारूपे बुद्ध अवतारे नरवेष्टौ ।

भक्तजन हिते भक्त उद्धारिणि पाह ॥ १७९”

“In the Kaliyuga the devotees are passing their lives in disguise, though they have not yet seen the form of the incarnation of Buddha, in the hope that the *gadi* (seat) of the Çūnya will be established in the province of Behar and there the Lord Alekha will lie concealed in the Dhuni-kunḍa (fire-pit). The Alekha will through His creative power, assume the form of a human being in the incarnation of Buddha for the good of His devotee, who will thus attain emancipation”.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY
OF
MAYURABHANJA PROPER.

BĀRIPADĀ.

BĀRIPADĀ on the river Bara-Balañg, lying at Lat. $21^{\circ} 56'N$ and Long. $87^{\circ} 27'E$ is the present head-quarters of the Mayūrabhañja State. Before the Bhañja Rājās left Hariharapura and settled here, the place was very little known to the public. It was at that time a common village, which gradually grew into a small town and subsequently became the capital of Mayūrabhañja.

The place does not claim a very remote antiquity and possesses few objects of antiquarian interest. It was brought to the notice of the public for the first time by Major Rennell in 1779 A.D. as Burpuddah.* From various information and evidences that can be gathered from

* See J. Rennell's Bengal Atlas, Sheet Nos. VII and IX.

different sources, we learn that the place was enlarged into a town by Mahārāja Jadunātha Bhañja. Since then it passed through successive stages of development and now the opening of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway and more recently of the Mayūrabhañja State Railway has considerably improved the commercial and industrial position of the place.

The town formerly, had not a very large number of brick-built houses. The newly built palace at Belgaḍiyā, and other buildings and temples, however, now add to the natural beauty of the place. Besides these, there is another object of interest, *viz.*, extensive ruins of a mud fort, now known as Bagh-Samalgaḍa. The greater portion of this ruined fort is now covered with jungle, extending over nearly one-eighth of the area of the whole town. Within the fort is to be found the ruins of old temple of Ambikā Devī. At the time when the temple was built, the place was probably in a flourishing condition. A small portion of the jungle has of late been cleared and houses in ruins are now visible here and there. These relics clearly show that the place was once thickly populated. There is very little doubt that the mud fort was built by the Bhañja Rājās, who removed to this place and settled here permanently ; but we are unable to ascertain the period when it was first constructed.

Besides the ruined fort, there is a temple here more than three hundred years old, which is popularly known as the temple of Buḍā Jagan-nātha. It was built by Rājā Vaidyanātha Bhañja, after the style of the Kakhāruā Vaidyanātha



temple of Māntri.* This is made of laterite stone with ornamental carvings. Within the enclosure and adjoining the boundary wall of the temple, small rooms are to be found all around, lying apart from each other. These are dedicated to various gods and goddesses whose stone images are enshrined therein.

There was an inscription on the wall of the temple which ran as follows :—

“शकाब्दे सागरे रम्भे कृते नक्षत्रनायके ।

भञ्जने वैद्यनाथेन प्रासाद कृतमदिनी ॥”

A transcript of this inscription is still preserved by the local Pāṇḍās. But as the above ḡloka contains some grammatical errors, Mahārāja Kṛṣṇachandra Bhañja, father of the present chief, had it corrected thus :—

“शकाब्दे मुनिरम्भश्चिशुभ्रांशुप्रमिते शुभे ।

भञ्जने वैद्यनाथेन प्रासादस्तु कृतो मुदा ॥”

and the new tablet prepared by him was placed on the upper end of the right-hand boundary wall of the temple. Both the inscriptions, however, are of the same purport and may be translated thus :—

“In the year 1497 of the ṡaka era, this temple was built by Vaidyanātha Bhañja.”

* See Report on Māntri.

In a small room within the temple enclosure, is to be found an image of Lokeṣvara Bodhisattva (locally called Anantadeva) with four hands*. It is an object of beauty and made of black chlorite. The existence of this image clearly indicates that Buddhist influence was once predominant at the place. There are sufficient proofs to substantiate the fact that the Bāuri or Bāthuri tribes of Mayūrabhañja were originally Buddhists. The name Bāripadā appears to be a corruption of Bāuripadā.

* See plate No. 22.

HARIPUR.

HARIHARAPURA or Haripuragaḍa is situated 10 miles to the south-east of Bāripadā, the present chief town of the Mayūrabhañja State. Haripur was the capital of the State before the present town of Bāripadā was founded. It was at that time in a flourishing condition. The vast ruins of the old capital of Haripur afford ample and interesting materials for antiquarian research. It is painful to recollect how Hariharapura, once the capital of the Bhañja Rājās, became deserted, and in course of time grew into a dense jungle. Few among even those who live in its neighbourhood, know of its former glory !

Hariharapura is the correct name of the present Haripur. Though it was shown as "Harrior-pour," in the old map of Rennell of 1770 A. D.,* it remained unknown to the public for over half a century more. In the genealogical account, found in the house of Ćyāmakaraṇa of Nayābasān, it is recorded that Mahārāja Harihara Bhañja, a powerful monarch of the line, founded a city in 1322 ṣaka, corresponding to 1400 A.D. He called the place Hariharapura after his own name and made it the capital of his kingdom.†

* See J. Rennell's Atlas, Sheet Nos. VII & IX.

† An account furnished by the State and published in the Viçvakosa (Vol. XIV, p. 196) gives reigning dates of Harihara Bhanja as 1648-1683 A. D.; but this does not appear to be correct : for we find that Hariharapura was mentioned in the writings of Govinda Dāsa, one of the attendants of ģri Gaurāṅga. It was a prosperous town some 400 years ago.

The favourable conditions of its situation and its charming surroundings were probably the chief attraction for the Rājā to choose this place for his capital. A close examination of the innumerable ruins that surround the place, and its neighbouring hill-fort Kusumiā or Bana-kāṭigaḍa, leads to the conclusion that it attained its prosperity at least a few years before the time of Harihara Bhañja. The river Bara-Balang which formerly used to flow by the eastern and southern sides of the ancient capital, now appears to have somewhat changed its original course.

Hariharapur found a prominent place in the accounts of Bengal and Orissa of the 15th and 16th centuries, when Chaitanya Mahāprabhu passed through this place on his way to Utkala. Govinda Dāsa who accompanied Gaurāṅga in his journey, wrote thus in his *Karacha* 400 years ago :—

परदिन सुवर्णरेखार धारे गिया ।

पुलकित रघुनाथ दासेरे देखिया ॥

अनन्तर हरिहरपुर मोरा याइ ।

सेया गिया हरिनामे मातिल निमाइ ॥

नाचिले नाचिले प्रभु अज्ञान हइल ।

आक्काइ खाइया तवे भूतले पड़िल ॥

एइरूपे सेइदिन अतीत हइला ।

आनन्दे मातिया प्रभु कान्दिले लागिला ॥

तार परदिन मोरा याइ वालेश्वरे ।

गोपाले हेरिया तथि आनन्द अन्तरे ॥

परदिन प्रातःकाले नीलगङ्गे याइ ।

नीलगङ्गे गिया नामे मातिल निमाइ ॥

(गीविन्ददासेर कड़वा, ४२ पृ :)

[Next day we reached the Suvarṇarekhā and were glad to see Raghunātha Dāsa there. We started thence for Hariharapura where Nimāi (Lord Gaurāṅga) chanted the name of Hari in ecstasy, and while dancing, became unconscious and fell on the ground. The day passed in this way, and the Lord, becoming mad with divine joy, shed incessant tears. The next day, we went to Bāleṣvara (Balasore) and were much delighted to see Gopāla (Gopīnātha) there. The next morning, we went to Nīlagada (Nīlgiri). There Nimāi was again absorbed in chanting the holy name of Hari.]

From the extracts quoted above, I am inclined to think, that at the time referred to in it, there existed a convenient road from Nadia to Puri, by which the Lord pursued his journey through Haripur, to the sacred seat of Jagannāth ; Rājā Pratāparudra Deva of Utkala also travelled by the same way on his pilgrimage to Vṛndāvana. The locality known as Pratāpur is situated close to it, and very likely it had derived its name from that great ruler of Orissa.*

* See report on Pratāpur.

Mahāprabhu Chaitanya spent eighteen years in Utkala, but during this long period, the Bhañja Rājās, who all along remained attached to their çākta faith did not come under his influence. They, however, embraced Vaiṣṇavism long after his advent. We find mention of the capital of the Bhañja Rājās in the writings of the Muhammadan historian Badaoni who lived at a time later than that of Chaitanya-deva.—“The Bengal king (Sulaiman Kararani) despatched a force under Kālāpāhār, his general, to Orissa across Mayurabhanja and thence southward by the Kāsābasa river. Kālāpāhār ravaged Orissa, defeated the Rājā's Deputy, and shortly afterwards the Rājā himself was killed and the Muhammadans finally conquered Orissa in 1568 A.D.” (*Badaoni*, Vol. II. p. 174.)

The capital of the Bhañja Rājās suffered greatly at the hands of the iconoclast Kālāpāhār. All the members of the royal family were compelled to run away and seek shelter in the hill-recesses. From this time forward, the invasions of the Musalmans became frequent. On account of the great strategic importance and the fortified position of the place, Dāud Khān, the Pathān king of Gauḍa, took refuge in Hariipur to avoid all attacks from the powerful Mughal Emperor (Akbar).

It appears from Akbarnāma, that on the 3rd March, 1575 (20th Ziquadah, 982 A.H.) “Dāud Khān had taken up a strong position at Hariharpur which lies between Bengal and Orissa.”*

* See Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. I, translated by H. Blochmann. p. 375. See also Tabakat-i-Akbari, Badaoni and Tarikh-i-Dāudi.

Dāud Khān had a hard fight with Toḍar Mall and being defeated in battle, he proceeded towards Cuttack. The Mughal rule spread in Utkala with the defeat of Dāud Khān. Vaidyanātha Bhañja, one of the Bhañja Rājās of Mayūrabhañja, lived about that time. Mention is made of the prosperous condition of the court of the said king in *Rasika-Mangala* written about 1542 Çaka (1620 A.D.) by Gopijanavallabha, a disciple of Rasikānanda. Some time before this, Rasikānanda Thākura (a member of the Sṛṣṭi-Karaṇa family and a disciple of the well known Çyāmānanda), had gone to Mayūrabhañja to preach the gospel of Çrī Chaitanya. He met Rājā Vaidyanātha at Rājagaḍa where he was then staying with his family. This place is about 3 miles distant from Hariharapur. The following account occurs in *Rasika-Mangala* :—

“रसिके करिल आज्ञा श्यामानन्द राय ।

सर्वजीवे परिचरण कर महाशय ॥

उत्कलेर राजा प्रजा करहु उद्धार ।

कृष्णप्रेमभक्तिरस कर परचार ॥

आज्ञा पाजा रसिकेन्द्र करिल गमन ।

राजगढ़ स्थाने गिया हैल उपसन ॥

वैद्यनाथ भञ्ज राजा कोटराय सेन ।

राउत्रा अनुज तार तिन भाग्यवान् ॥

महादीप्त तिन भाइ बड़इ प्रतापी ।

शुद्ध शुद्धवंशजात बड़इ प्रतापी ॥

शत शत सुपण्डित याकेन सभाय ।”

(रसिक मङ्गल, ६० पृ.)

[Çyāmānanda Rāya commanded Rasika :—
“Oh great Soul ! Give salvation to all men
and save the King of Utkala and his subjects
by preaching love for Kṛṣṇa.” Getting this
command Rasikendra went out on his mission
and reached Rājagaḍa. There were Rāja
Vaidyanātha Bhañja, his younger brother
Choṭa-Rāya-sena, and the youngest Rāutrā.
All the three brothers were fortunate, very
illustrious and powerful and had come out of
the pure solar stock. Hundreds of Pandits
adorned the Royal Court.]

From the inscription on the temple of
Buḍā Jagannātha at Bāripadā, we learn that
Rājā Vaidyanātha Bhañja was reigning in 1575.
It has been mentioned above that, Dāud Khān
was staying at Hariharapur in the same year.
Rājā Vaidyanātha Bhañja had, removed to
Rājagaḍa about this time, and it was at this
place that he received Rasikānanda at his
Court.

The ruins of Rājagaḍa, now overgrown with
jungles and haunted by wild elephants and
tigers, attest to the site where Rājā Vaidyanātha
Bhañja had once built a temporary fort.

Before Rasikendra came to the royal court,
the Bhañjas were all Cāktas. Rājā Vaidyanātha
Bhañja was the first scion of the dynasty to adopt
the Vaiṣṇava faith as expounded to him by Rasi-
kendra. His brothers followed him in his wake
and gradually others accepted the creed in large
number. Rasikendra became their spiritual
guide. The following is the text on the subject
as we find in *Rasika-Mangala* :—

“हेनरूपे वैद्यनाथ उपदेश हैला ।

दिने दिने प्रेमभक्ति वाडिते लागिला ॥

अनन्य शरण हैला तिन सहोदर ।

कृष्णप्रसमय हैल उत्कल नगर ॥

भङ्गभूमे सर्वलोक हैला वैष्णव ।

शैव शाक्त जीवहत्या क्वाडिलेन सब ॥”

[In this manner the initiation of Vaidyanātha took place and his love and *bhakti* began to increase daily. The three brothers gave themselves up solely to Çrīkṛṣṇa and the love for Kṛṣṇa spread all over Utkala. People of Bhañjabhūma thus became *Vaisnava* and the Çaivas and Çāktas gave up animal sacrifice.]

The Gosvāmins of Gopīvallabhapur—the descendants of Rasikānanda,—are the *gurus* (spiritual guide) of the Bhañja family even up to this day. After his initiation by Rasikānanda, Rājā Vaidyanātha, with a view to perpetuate the memory of his *guru* in holy conjunction with his Iṣṭadeva, erected the temple of Rasika-Rāya in his capital at Hariharapur. This temple, though at present deserted, broken in most places, and overgrown with wild plants, is still regarded as a *vestige* of the glorious deeds of Rājā Vaidyanātha. Nowhere in the whole of Utkala is to be found a brick-built temple of such superior workmanship and grandeur; such temples are rare even in Bengal.

Besides the temple of Rasika-Rāya, Rājā Vaidyanātha had a stone-temple erected at Bāripadā, in honour of Jagannātha, which is now known as Buḍā Jagannātha.*

* See Report on Baripada.

We learn from the author of *Rasika-Mangala* that Rājā Vaidyanātha died during the lifetime of Rasikānanda and Ćyāmānanda.* The genealogical account of the Satapathīs mentions Rājā Jagateçvara as predecessor of Vaidyanātha. Following the popular tradition as given by the author of Ćyāmānanda's Dvādaça-Çākhā-Varṇanā, we find a passage † noted below, from which it appears that after the death of Rājā Vaidyanātha, Jagateçvara who firmly established himself at Hariharapur, was recognised as belonging to the Çākhā of Ćyāmānanda.

After the death of Rājā Vaidyanātha, the Bhañja Rājās reigned in peace and prosperity for about a century. During this period the Rādhā-mohana and Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa temples were erected in Haripur and the Guṇḍichā temple was built at Vṛndāvanapur-çāsana, a village adjoining Haripur.

The above Rādhāmohan and the Guṇḍichā temples are said to be the work of Rājā Vīra

॥“वैद्यनाथ महाराजा वङ्ग महाजन ।

कायमनो वाक्पद् द्वर्द्ध रसिक शरण ॥

देहत्याग करिलेन उत्कल भुवने ।

वृन्दावने देखिलेन सब साधुगणे ॥”

(रसिकमङ्गल, १४२ पृष्ठा)

†“हरिहरपुरे घर,

नाम श्रीजगतिश्वर,

सांकोयाते श्रीमधुसूदन ।”

(हादशशाखा वर्णना)

Vikramāditya. It was also at this time that the Telegā Darwajā (Telgu gate) of the Haripura-gaḍa was decorated with ornamental works and surmounted with *Chauri*.

During this time the Muhammadans once again attempted to invade Haripur. Ali Verdi Khān, on obtaining the Subadarship of Bengal, directed his attention towards Orissa and made up his mind to bring Murshid Kuli Khān, the Subadar of that province under his subjection. The author of Riyaz gives us the following vivid description :—

“In short, from fear of Ali Verdi Khān, Murshid Kuli Khān made preparations for self-defence, and exerted himself strenuously towards the mobilisation of an army.”
 “Ali Verdi Khān Mahabat Jang, with a large army and an immense artillery, instantly marched towards the province of Orissa. On receipt of this news, leaving his wife, Durdanah Begam, and his son Yahya Khān with his treasures in the fort of Bārahbāṭi, Murshid Kuli Khān with an efficient force and requisite war-paraphernalia, together with his two sons-in-law, named Mirza Muhammad Bāqir Khān, a prince of Persia, and Alauddin Muhammad Khān, marched out from Katak (Cuttack) in order to fight, and advanced to the port of Balisar (Balasore). At the ferry of Phulwār from the rock of Tilgaḍhi to the river Jon,* he threw up an entrenchment, and remained behind it waiting for the enemy.

*Maulavi Abdul Salam, the translator of Riyaz, could not identify Tilgaḍhi and Jon river, but on careful examination, we find in the Trigonometrical Survey Map of Mayurbhanja, a rocky region in the State called **Tilgadiah** from which issues a river called **Sona-nadi** which can easily be identified with the Jon in Persian.

Unfortunately, Murshid Kuli Khān was ignorant of the wiles of the traitor in his own camp in the person of Mukhalis Ali Khān, and had, therefore, failed to take any precautionary steps against that double-faced scoundrel.” . . .

. . . “Advancing from Bengal by forced marches with a large army, which numbered more than one lak cavalry and infantry, Ali Verdi Khān reached Midnapur, secured the adhesion of the Zamindars of that district by bestowing on them khelats and gifts and encamped at Jalisar (Jalesore), which was an imperial outpost. On the banks of the river Suvarṇarekhā, at the ferry of Rājghāt, Rājāh Jagar Dhar Bhañj, Zamindar of Morbhañj, had established a garrison of his *chuwars* and *khandaits* and had erected entrenchments. To cross, therefore, at the ferry at Rājghāt, which was protected by dense jungles and thorny trees, was found to be a difficult operation, and therefore, Ali Verdi Khān had to ask for help from the Rājāh. The Rājāh, however, was haughty owing to his command of a large army, and did not care for Ali Verdi Khān. He refused to side with the latter or to permit him to cross at Rājghāt ferry. Ali Verdi Khān, placing his artillery wagons in front of the Rājghāt ferry, commenced bombarding it. The Rājāh’s army were unable to hold the ground in their entrenchment and fled to the jungles. Ali Verdi Khān with troops and artillery crossed over at Rājghāt and encamped at Rāmchandrapur, which was at a distance of one and a half *karoh* from Murshid Kuli Khān’s encampment. Emissaries and envoys were busy for some days moving to and fro, with messages of peace and war, and this sort of diplomatic parley lasted for one month. All this time, Murshid Kuli Khān

did not advance across the ferry of Phulwar. . . . But as the period of stay within entrenchments was tediously protracted, Mirza Baqir, carried by his youthful impulsiveness, sallied out with his contingent composed of Syeds of Bārha and arrayed himself in battle-rank. Murshid Kuli was, therefore, obliged to array his troops in front of Ali Verdi Khān's army. On both sides, the battle opened with a cannonade, which was soon abandoned for a sword and spear-charge at close quarters. * * * Before this gallant charge, Ali Verdi Khān's soldiers, who had hitherto fancied themselves lions of the forest of bravery, fled like sheep from the battle-field, and met with a crushing defeat." . . .

. . . "Ali Verdi Khān on being apprised of this, hurriedly collected his vanquished troops by use of persuasions, and a second time engaged in fighting.* * * Murshid Kuli Khān thus being defeated retired to the port of Balisar (Balasore), and there embarking on a sloop which had been kept ready from before, he sailed for the Dakhins."*

The valour and prowess with which the Rājā of Mayūrabhañja fought Ali Verdi in spite of his alliance with the Rājā of Nārāyanagaḍa and other local chiefs have been recorded by the author of Siyarul Muta-akhhirin. The following are the extracts from the work :—

"As the army in its late expedition to Orissa was passing through the possessions of the Rājā of Mayūrabhañja, it had been exceedingly harassed by that Prince, who had vowed a personal attachment to Mirza-bakyr, and seemed

* Riyaz-us-Salatin, translated by M. Abdus Salam, pp. 326-330,

ambitious to give proofs of it at this particular conjuncture.”*

Even after the defeat and flight of Murshid Kuli Khān, the Rājā of Mayūrabhañja did not acknowledge Ali Verdi as the Mughal Subadar of Orissa and caused him great annoyance whenever any opportunity presented itself and here is an extract from Riyaz on the subject :—

“Inasmuch as Jagat Isar Rājā of Morbhañj, has taken sides with Mirza Baqir and had not submitted to the authority of Mahabat Jang, the latter was in anxiety owing to his insolence. Therefore, on arrival at the port of Balasore, he girded up his loins in order to chastise the Rājāh. The latter was at Hariharapur, which contained his mansion, and was at the time plunged in pleasures and amusements. His knowledge of the denseness of the forests that surrounded him, coupled with his command of numerous hordes of *Chuwars* and *Khandaits* made him feel insolent, and so he did not pull out the cotton of heedlessness from the ears of sense, nor cared for the army of Ali Verdi Khān. Ali Verdi Khān’s army stretching the hands of slaughter and rapine set about looting and sacking the populations, swept the Rājāh’s dominion with the broom of spoliation, captured the women and children of the *Khandaits* and *Chuwars*, and sowed dissensions amongst them. The Rājāh seeing the superiority of Ali Verdi Khān’s army with his effects, followers and dependants, fled to the top of a hill, and hid himself in a secret *fastness* beyond the ken of discovery. Ali Verdi Khān then subjugated

* See *Siyarul-Muta-akhkhirin*, translated, by Mustafa, Vol. I, p. 381. (*Calcutta ed.*).

the tract of Morbhanj, shewed no quarter, and mercilessly carried fire and sword through its limits.”*

Continuing the statements given above, the author of *Muta-akhkhirin* charges the Rājā with gross misconduct and defends the Viceroy in his attempt to crush the impudent Rājā. He declares,—“A conduct so characterised, could not fail to render him an object of wrath for the Viceroy, who on his side, resolved to make an example of him on his return from the expedition. The Rājā, sensible now of his danger, had thrown himself into the arms of Mustāfā Khān who interceded vigorously for him. But this intercession of his had been taken so ill, that it had even produced some very severe looks, with a severe reprimand. A few moments after, an order was given to Mīr Jāfar to despatch the man, the moment he should make his appearance in the hall of the audience; for the Rājā finding his application to the general had produced nothing but further tokens of wrath, had resolved to risk a visit on his own bottom, and he came without a safe conduct. But the hall being already taken possession of by Mīr Jāfar Khān, who filled it with armed men, the Gentoo no sooner made his appearance, than he was set upon instantly and hacked to pieces; whilst all his attendants were sought out and knocked down, as if it had been a hunting match. After this execution, his country had been thoroughly plundered and sacked to the great regret of the general, who conceived his honour deeply wounded in this whole management. All these

* The *Riyazu-s-Salatin*, translated by Maulavi Abdul Salam, p. 337.

transactions having taken place a few days before the arrival of the Marāṭhās.”*

We come to know both from Riyāz and Siyar-ul Muta-akhhirin that at the time when 'Alī Verdi Khān arrived at the borders of Mayūra-bhañja with the object of subduing Murshid Kulī Khān, Jagardhar Bhañja† was the reigning monarch of Hariharapur; but at the time of his return after defeating the Pathān King, we find Jagat Isar Bhañja‡ to be the reigning Chief of the place.

‘Jagardhar’ is described as Chakradhara in Āyama Karaṇa’s genealogy and also in the *Royal sanad*. In the said genealogy, 16 years has been stated to be the period of the reign of Chakradhara and 25 years that of Jagateçvara Bhañja. But from the facts described in the two aforesaid historical works, this does not appear to be correct. It would be altogether different, if we take Jagardhar and Jagateçvara to be the names of one and the same person, and consider them to have been erroneously used to represent separate personalities.

There was indeed a Rājā by the name of Jagateçvara, mentioned as a disciple of Āyama-nanda, but he lived a hundred years before the time of Chakradhara. Be that as it may, it is true that after the assassination of Chakradhara Bhañja, Mayūrabhañja was greatly troubled by the ravages of the Muhammadan army. The plunder and rapine of the Muhammadan invaders forced the Bhañja Rājās

* Siyar-ul Muta-akhhirin, translated by Hajee Mustapha, Vol. I. p. 381.

† Riyaz-us-salatīn, As. Soc. ed., p. 327.

‡ Riyaz-us-salatīn, As. Soc. ed., p. 337.

to change their seat of government; and they sometimes lived at Hariharapur and sometimes at Bāmaṇaghāṭi. For, we know that Rājā Sarveçvara Bhañja who ruled during the period 1627 to 1658 A. D. was known as the Rājā of Bāmaṇaghāṭi.

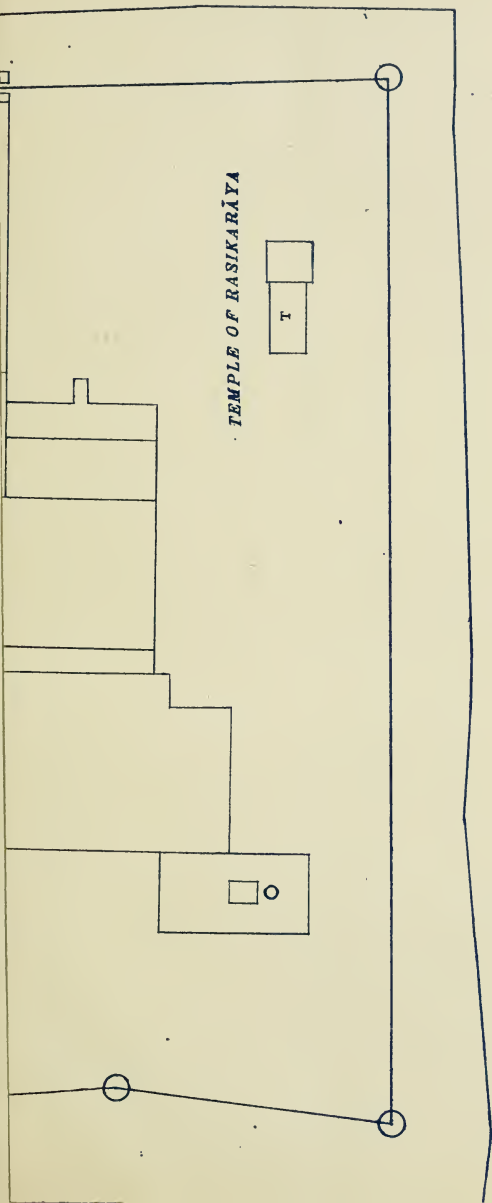
From this time, the downfall of Hariharapur may be said to have commenced. Following upon the wake of the Mughal Viceroy 'Alī Verdi Khān, bands of Marāṭhā freebooters over-ran the province and reduced Mayūrabhañja to a deplorable condition. Some idea of this can be formed from the account of Māntri.* Tradition has it that no sooner, did the fort of Māntri fall into the hands of the enemy, than Rājā Dāmodara Bhañja began to retrace his steps and at last took refuge at Bāmaṇaghāṭi. The Marāṭhās, however, advanced and pursued him up to Hariharapur, where they encamped. Vairāgi Bhañja was then the ruler of that place. Finding it beyond his power to meet the attack of the redoubtable Marāṭhās, he left the capital in the guise of a Vairāgi (anchorite). According to another tradition, it was Rājā Dāmodara Bhañja who left his seat of government in the disguise of a recluse. We find however, the names of both Dāmodara Bhañja and Vairāgi Bhañja occurring in the records of the time. Probably Vairāgi Bhañja was the brother or a near relation of Dāmodara Bhañja.

The Marāṭhās with their artillery devastated the place and brought it to a state of complete desolation. The fine and picturesque palace of Hariharapur was levelled to the ground. Even

* See Report on Māntri.

Hindu Gods and Goddesses did not escape their ruthless hand. Though they were Hindus, they did not hesitate to demolish the temples and shrines they had learned to worship from their very infancy. The present ruins of Hariharapur bear testimony to the havoc caused by them. There is no historical record of the raids of these unwelcome visitors more than once; yet it is an undeniable historical fact that they succeeded in turning the once prosperous capital into a desolate mass of ruins (about 1791-92 A.D.), and this could not be performed in a single day.

The depredations of the Marāṭhā free-booters did not end with the rules of Dāmodara Bhañja and Vairāgī Bhañja. They again came down in hordes upon the Bhañja territory at the time of Rāñī Sumitrā Devī, wife of Rājā Dāmodara and attempted to take away the images of Gods and Goddesses from the place. The images of Rasika-Rāya and Rādhāmohana had already been removed by the members of the Rāj family before their arrival. But the image of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa fell into their hands, and for reasons which cannot be ascertained now, they brought it to Balasore, where it still exists. This stone-image is about 3 feet in height. The fine features and the graceful appearance of the figure attracted the attention of one Pyārī Bāī, a religious devotee, who took a fancy for it at first sight and began to worship it. When, however, Sumitrā Devī came on a pilgrimage to Remuṇā, she wanted to take the image back to Mayūrabhañja. But the people objected to this and insisted on its being allowed to remain where it was. Accordingly, the Rāñī had some lands purchased at the cost of the State evidently

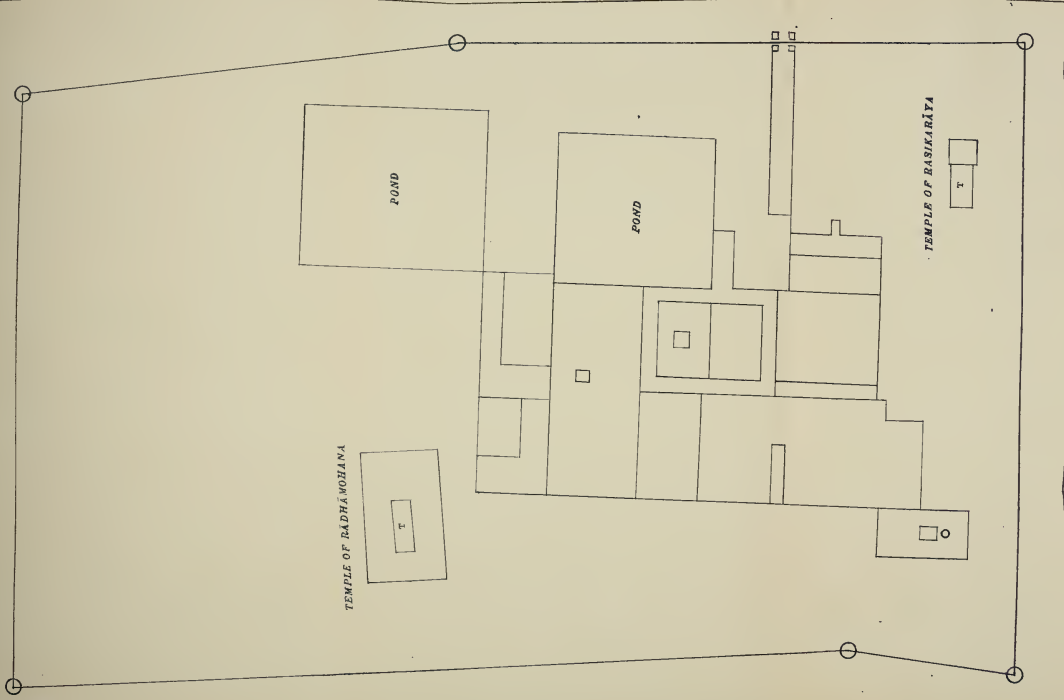


No 57. PLAN of Haripur Gadā.

Scale 100 feet = 1 Inch.

TEMPLE OF JAGANNĀTHA





No 57. Plan of Haripur Gauda.
Scale 100 feet = 1 Inch.





for the purpose of maintaining the Deva-sevā and the Ratha-yātrā. The present police lines of Paḍuyāpaḍā forms part of the Devottara Zamindary.

In the Court documents, Hariharapur was mentioned as the head-quarters of Rāṇī Sumitrā Devī though it had already been abandoned. In the *Kabuliyat*, which she executed in favour of the Governor-General in Council on the 2nd March of 1801 A.D., in connection with the settlement of Parganāh Nayābasāna of her Zamindary, she expressly mentioned "*Sākina Kille Hariharapura*" as her head-quarters.

A close examination of the existing ruins of Hariharapur, would furnish us with abundant proofs of the ravages committed by the Marāṭhās. These ruins tell a sorrowful tale even to this day !

The eastern side of the old Haripuragaḍa, now in ruins, is 1091 feet and the western side 1102 feet ; whereas the northern and southern sides are 652 feet and 686 feet respectively. On the south-eastern corner of this wide area stands the beautiful temple of Rasika-Rāya. This temple, as already had been stated, was erected by Rājā Vaidyanātha Bhañja, three centuries ago. It is made of bricks of fine workmanship and shows an exquisitely fine taste in its representations from Hindu mythology. There is no brick-temple in the whole of Orissa, which can match it in artistic excellence.

In the opposite direction, and a little to the north of the court-yard of the said temple lies the Rāṇī-Haṁsapura. It is the south-western portion of the building and consists of the seraglio with adjoining bath-rooms. No trace now exists

of the inner apartments, but a masonry well of massive structure and a reservoir standing by its side, present relics of the ancient bath-rooms. All other buildings, besides these, are now a heap of ruins and cannot be correctly identified. But we can safely state that on the north-east of the bath-rooms lies scattered in ruins the Harem.

To the east of this and on the north of the Court-yard of Rasika-Rāya-temple, once stood the Durbar Hall and the retiring chamber studded in front by sculptured stone-columns and arches of fine designs. A portion of the floor of the old rooms and walls has recently become unearthed. This has brought to light numerous stones with skilful works of art and remnants of ornamental plaster-work from the eastern portion of the building and the middle of the Hall. The plaster-works on the floor and on the walls show that they are not less than three centuries old, and the combined mortar has been transformed into such a hard substance that it can easily be taken for a superior class of modern cement.

A few specimens of earthen pots were found within the niches of certain rooms. Only a small portion of the spacious palace has been excavated. If the excavation be completed and all the rooms be brought to light in their original dimensions by taking out the rubbish with great care, it may probably throw some light on the real arrangement of things, that is to say, the nature of the buildings and of sculpture and architecture of the period. On a superficial examination of the extensive ruins of this ancient palace, it is not possible to form any idea of the position



of its component parts. A plan of the palace is given (Plate No. 53) which will give a rough idea of the structure and position of the buildings.

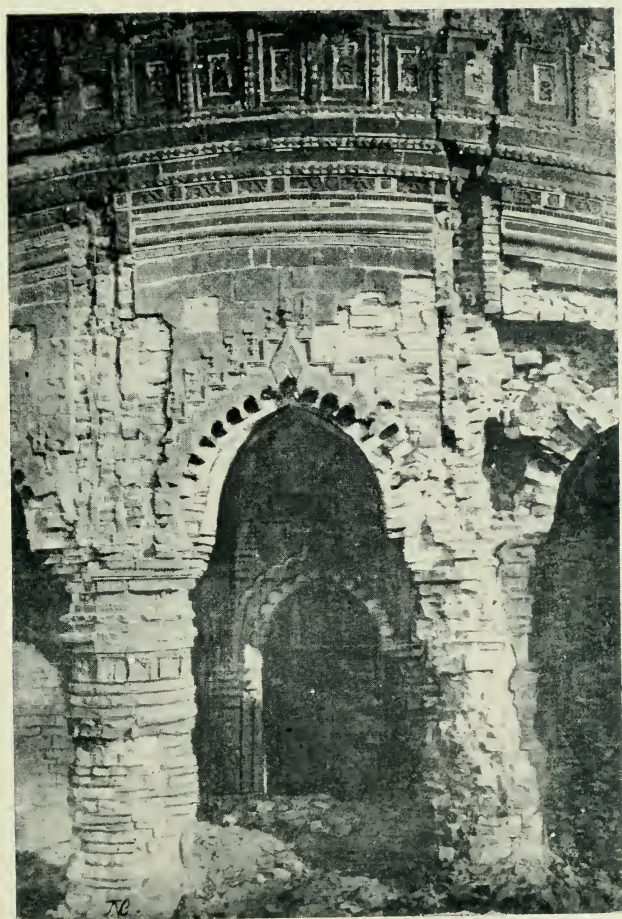
To the north-west of the palace and behind the old Court stands the Rādhā-mohana temple; whereas the famous temple of Rasika-Rāya occupied a space in a diagonally opposite direction, from which place the ladies of the royal household used to worship the deity. The Rādhā-mohana-temple is a plain rectangular block of building made of bricks and covered with *chunam* plaster. Its sanctuary was separated from the outer-hall by a perpendicular wall joining the two sides. It would not be out of place to mention here, that as the Rādhāmohana temple was situated within the outer Court compound, it was evidently meant for the male members of the household.

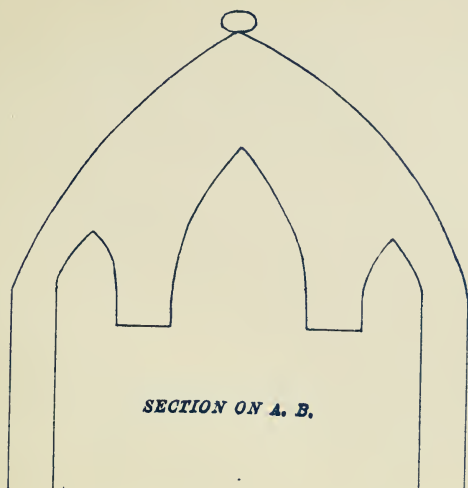
The Rasika-Rāya-temple stood facing the inner apartments and the beautiful workmanship on its walls, offers a contrast to the plainness of Rādhāmohana-temple. A striking similarity to the architecture of this nature will be found at Viṣṇupur (Malla-bhūma) in the temple erected by Rājā Vīra Hāmbīra and his descendants. This very structure proves that they belonged to the same school. The curvilinear form of roofing in this temple is a style which according to Mr. Fergusson first originated in Gauda many centuries ago and was adopted by the Delhi Emperors in all architectural designs. It was latterly adopted in different parts of the civilized world.

The Temple of Rasika-Rāya consisted of two portions, *viz.*, the principle temple and the Nāṭamandira, in front of it. The Nāṭamandira is in a totally delapidated condition. Only one or two brickbuilt pillars now in ruins keep up a faint memory of its lost grandeur. Distinct evidence of a high style of architecture are still to be found in those broken pillars and heaps of bricks lying beside. The portion of the temple covered by the Nāṭamandira was 49 feet long and 23 feet broad. The main temple has not yet been totally ruined, though certain portions, have broken down and the temple has almost lost its former splendour. It is 30 feet long and 27 feet 6 inches broad. The temple is divided into a sanctuary and the Jagamohana. The latter is a small place just in front of the sacred chamber where the idol is placed. The walls around the sanctuary on the north, south and east side of it are 3 feet 4 inches in thickness, excepting the western portion where the wall is 7 feet in width and there is a cell attached to it. The unusual thickness of these two latter walls has led some people to think that these contain within them secret chambers in which the treasures of the temple used to be stored up.

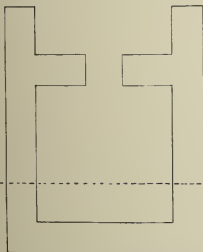
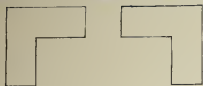
A plan of the temple is herein furnished, which will give an idea of its structure. (Plate No. 60).

The temple of Rādhā-mohana is brick-built. It has not only lost its roofs but its greater portion is in ruins. The style of architecture of this temple is plain and simple. But as a work of art and in point of beauty, it is far inferior to that of Rasika-Rāya. Formerly the walls of the Nāṭamandira were painted with various beautiful representations of

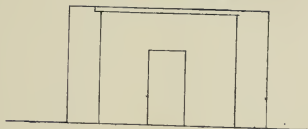




MAYŪRABHAŅJA ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY.



SECTION ON A. B.



No. 61. PLAN OF RĀDHĀMOHADA Temple.

MAYŪRABH



A



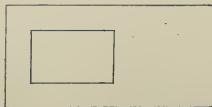
MAYŪRABH



A-----



No. 65. PLAN of Pāca-Chandī Temple.
Scale 10 feet = 1 Inch.



PLAN of an old temple newly discovered at Badāsai.

the deities. Most of the pictures have been effaced, but their outlines are yet to be found on the walls. The paintings within the niches are preserved up to now, in minute details. Such for instance are the pictures of Vāmana, Matsya and of Jagannātha, but those on the inner walls, other than the above, have been damaged by exposure. It has already been mentioned that this temple was constructed by Rājā Vīra Vikramāditya Bhañja. A plan of the above temple is given in Plate No. 61.

On the south-east of the temple of Rasika-
Jagannātha. Rāya, at a distance of 270 feet and
outside the fort enclosure lies the
temple of Jagannātha. The image of Jagannātha
which was formerly placed in the temple,
has now been brought to Pratāpapura where
he receives daily offerings. The general belief
among the people here is, that this temple
was constructed by Rājā Harihara Bhañja, the
founder of Hariharapura, in imitation of the
style of architecture of Gauḍa. It has already
been mentioned that Rājā Vaidyanātha Bhañja
and his forefathers formerly belonged to the Çākta
sect and that he and his brothers were the first
of this dynasty to adopt the Vaiṣṇava faith
under Rasikānanda, the favourite disciple of
Çyāmānanda. Thus it appears that Rājā Hari-
hara Bhañja was a Çākta. But the erection
of the temple of Jagannātha by him showed the
eclectic nature of his religious faith. The artistic
decorations on the outer walls of the temple of
Jagannātha have lost much of their beauty.
Those on the back of the temple, however, are
fairly intact, though the plaster and white-wash
have crumbled down. The temple was very
artistically painted in various beautiful colours,

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On a close examination of the side-walls traces of the paintings are still observed.

There is also a stone-image of Goddess Mahiṣa-mardinī, known by the name of Mahiṣa-mardinī. Gaḍa-Chaṇḍī in the clumps of bamboos in Baḍapāḍā, situated on the limits of Pratāpapura and Haripuragaḍa. It was formerly enshrined on the south side of Haripuragaḍa. (Plate No. 35).

There is a general belief among the people that the above image of Gaḍa-Chaṇḍī is the oldest to be found in the locality.

There is a small stone-image of goddess Kotāsanī. Koṭa-vāsinī, at present known as Kotāsanī, standing by the side of the image of Mahiṣa-mardinī in the aforesaid bamboo-grove of Baḍapāḍā. It is popularly believed that she is the presiding deity of Hariharapura. This image of the goddess, if properly scrutinized, will appear to be much older than the images of Gaḍa-Chaṇḍī *alias* Mahiṣa-mardinī. This image though greatly disfigured by time, still retains a striking semblance to that of Jāṅguli Tārā. (Plate No. 27). This may be taken to be an evidence of the influence of Tāntrika Buddhism extant in Haripur.

VRINDĀVANAPUR- CASANA.

VRINDĀVANAPUR is about a mile and a half north-west of Hariharapur. It is also called Ananda-Vṛndāvanapur. The tradition says that the village was founded by Rājā Vṛndāvana Bhañja. He made an endowment of it to twelve Brāhmaṇas who settled in this place. The Rājā had a beautiful temple erected here which he dedicated to his favourite God Vṛndāvana-chandra. According to others, this village which is also called Vīra Vikramāditya-Çāsana, owed its origin to the monarch of that name. Vīra Vikramāditya was a devout Vaiṣṇava ; the Guṇḍichā temple of Rādhā-mohana was built by him. We find that Vṛndāvana Bhañja's name does not occur in the genealogical list of the Bhañja Rājās. So the authenticity of the tradition that ascribes the village to Vṛndāvana Bhañja is doubtful. Probably it was Rājā Vīra Vikrama who made a gift of the village to the Brāhmaṇas and got both of the temples built ; very likely the village has been called Vṛndāvanapur after the name of Vṛndāvana-chandra, the presiding deity of the place. When Haripur was in a flourishing condition, the *Ratha-jātra* festival of Jagannātha and Rādhā-mohana, the deities most honoured in the capital of the Bhañja Rājās, used to be celebrated with great *eclat* and Vṛndāvanapur served as the halting station of the idols.

Both the temples are in ruins now. The temple of Vṛndāvana-chandra appears to be the older of the two and is a specimen of decorative art and architecture of the time. (Plate No. 63). The Guṇḍichā temple of Rādhā-mohana seems, to all intents and purposes, to be an imitation of the style adapted by the Vaiṣṇava architects of Bengal.

During the time of the Marāṭhā inroads, the village was deserted and remained in that state for many long years. About 50 years ago, the reigning chief of Mayūrabhañja brought some Brāhmaṇas from Nīlgiri and Balasor and made them settle there. The Brāhmaṇa residents of the village belong to Rik and Yayurveda and bear the following titles :—

Mahāpātra of Vaçiṣṭha Gotra, Çatapathī, Miçra, and Achāryya of Vātsya Gotra, Dāsa of Kauçika Gotra, and Miçra of Gautama Gotra.

There is a Maṇḍapa in the village which is used for the purpose of *Upanayanam* and other religious ceremonies of the Brāhmaṇas. The Brāhmaṇas of the place are practised archers. If a fruit is to be plucked from a tree, they do it by means of arrows. Besides the Brāhmaṇas, the people of the following castes are to be met in the village—Kāmār, Kumbhār, Ojhātantri, Dhobi, Bhumij, Tāmbuliya Bhumij, Bāthudī and Santāls.

There are several deities that are worshipped by the rustics in the bamboo-grove. They are called Koṭāsani, Mahisāsuri, Kālāpālāḍ, Sātbahinī &c. On the west of the bamboo-grove are to be found the ruins of an old building. There is a big tank which is called Lāl Bāgh. It is said that it was dug by Lāla Bāi, the

dancing girl of the Court of Rājā Dāmodara Bhañja. According to others this lake and the building in ruins belonged to a Muhammadan Nawab who temporarily resided in the locality. We find from the Akbar-nāmāh that the Pathān King Dāud Khān retreated into the recesses of the jungles in the vicinity of Hariharapur Gaḍa and lived there for a time to avoid the attacks of the Mughals. The Muhammadan Nawab of the tradition may probably be the great Pathān chief. The tank remains full of water all the year round ; but for some mysterious reasons no one ventures to touch it. A tunnel joins the tank with the river Buḍa-Balang at a place called *Kanyānāgīr gaṇḍa*. This tunnel possesses some strong stone-arches. There are many wonderful stories current amongst the people of the place regarding Lāl Bāgh and the adjacent locality.

KUSUMIA
OR
BANAKATHI-GADA.

IN the recesses of the jungles of Tasarādā, a mile on the north-east of Hariharapur and half a mile north-west of Pratāpapur Dāk Bunglow, are to be found the ruins of a stone-fort which is popularly known in the locality as Banakāṭi-gaḍa. This name has evidently been given to the place by the people who visited it for the purpose of cutting woods ; but the real name of the fort was known to be Gaḍa Kusumīā. It was surrounded by a ditch, of which there are still some remnants. The big ramparts, which once formed part of the fortified city, have gone down into the bed of the river Buḍa-Balang. But huge stone-blocks are to be found in abundance on the ground and also under the sandy bank of the river, testifying to the existence of ancient fortifications. The name Kusumīā-gaḍa apparently conveys the idea of a settlement of the Kusumba-Kṣatriyas here ; and the name of Kusuma-Talāo Gaṇḍa, only a mile south-west of Banakāṭi-gaḍa also confirms the supposition. The neighbouring places were once replete with traces of the powers of the Kusumba-Kṣatriyas, about whom we have written at some length in the Introduction.

PRATAPAPUR.

PRATAPAPUR is 11 miles to the south-east of Bāripadā and is only 6 miles away from Kṛṣṇachandrapur Station (M. S. Ry.). This place is bounded on the South and West by the river Buḍa-Balang. Beyond this river covering a tract of over 12 miles to the east and south, lies the forest of Tasarādā in the Parganā Banahāri which extends up to Bāripadā.

Pratāpapur was formerly called Rāmachandrapur after the name of Rājā Rāmachandra Bhañja Deva who founded it. The place which is only a village now, once was a flourishing town and its date of foundation was much anterior to that of Hariharapur. A dilapidated temple of Dadhi-Vāmana and an indigo-factory both founded by Mahārāja Jadunātha Bhañja are amongst the old relics of the place. At one time it yielded a good crop of indigo and the factory was under the supervision of a Bengali officer. At present the Sardār of the place holds his office in the old factory building. There is a small hut in which the image of Jagannātha, Dadhi-Vāmana and Mahāprabhu Chaitanyadeva are worshipped.

An interesting tradition about the advent of these deities in Pratāpapur is current among the local Pāṇḍās.—Rājā Pratāparudra, the far-famed monarch of Orissa, was a devoted follower of Çrī Chaitanyadeva and when the latter expressed a desire to leave Orissa with a view to

visit Vṛndāvana, the Rājā had an image of Chaitanyaadeva made of *Nimba* wood. He wanted to keep this image with him and thus derive some solace during the absence of his great master. When, however, Chaitanya Mahāprabhu at last left Orissa, Rājā Pratāparudradeva took the images of Dadhi-Vāmana and Chaitanya with him and started for Vṛndāvana. On reaching Pratāpapur known at that time as Rāmachandrapur, the King fell seriously ill and feeling that his end was drawing near, he appointed 54 Paṇḍās for the worship of the two images. He also made an endowment of a property yielding an income of Rs. 2000 a year for the purpose. After the death of Rājā Pratāparudradeva, the name of the village was changed to Pratāpapur, in honour of the illustrious dead and it has, since that time, been known by that name. The construction of a temple for these images was commenced by the then ruling Bhañja Rājā, but ere it was completed, the temple was destroyed by Kālāpā-hāḍa. The images were removed secretly to the fort of Hariharapur in order to be saved from the ruthless hands of the iconoclast. When Hariharapur had again to be deserted on account of the Marāṭhā raids during the reign of Dāmodara Bhañja, these images were brought back to Pratāpapur and Rājā Jaduuātha Bhañja subsequently had a temple erected there for Dadhi-Vāmana. The other two images were subsequently placed in it. Of the 54 Paṇḍās appointed for their worship, the descendants of one only have survived.

As the city was losing its importance, its area was reduced, portions of it were parcelled off from the main city owing to physical and other

changes and they formed into separate villages. The western portions of Rāmapur were once included in Pratāpapur, but on account of a change in the course of the river, they have been cut off from the original city. They still retain the ancient name by which the old city was formerly known. There was a temple about a quarter of a mile to the west of the Pratāpapur Dāk Bunglow. This was known as the *Samādhi* of Pratāparudradeva. But as the river changed its courses, the temple became submerged under water. Three or four years ago small portions of it could be seen protruding above the surface of water at Rāmapur; but at present all signs of this historic monument are lost.

The above three images made by Pratāparudradeva passed through many a vicissitude on account of the serious political disturbances which have taken place in the locality within the last 300 years. Though the images are held in veneration, no proper steps were ever taken to have them repaired or placed in suitable temples. The temple of Dadhi-Vāmana in course of time collapsed and the image was removed to a small straw-hut.

The political disturbances, referred to above, are well known to students of Indian History. We learn from the *Mādalā Pañjī* of Jagannātha that Rājā Pratāparudra died in 1556 A.D. Shortly after the demise of this illustrious king, Kālāpāhāḍa ravaged Orissa in 1565 A.D. Afterwards Dāud Khān, the Pathān chief of Bengal, on being pursued by the Mughal general, took shelter in this place. Hard fighting occurred between him and the latter near Hariharapur.*

* See Report on Haripur,

Dāud was completely defeated. The Paṭhāns, however, retained some power in the land and it was during the time of Akbar that Mān Simha came in person and totally subverted the Paṭhān supremacy, having killed Dāud Khān in a pitched battle. Although the Paṭhāns were completely routed, they retained some hold on the neighbouring lands and their descendants are still to be found in the village of Baḍasāi five miles to the west of Pratāpapur. Though the place was subjugated by the Mughal chief, he, however, could not restore peace and order. Fresh causes of disturbance soon occurred. The ravages of the Marāṭhās created a wide-spread panic in the country. Their object was to get possession of Hariharapur, and with this object they often attacked the place. But Dāmōdara Bhañja was too powerful for them and repelled them frequently. Family dissensions, however, obliged the Rājā to ultimately desert Hariharapur, which was then exposed to the ruthless plunder of the Marāṭhās. The once beautiful capital of the Bhañja Rājās now presents a melancholy sight of desolation and ruin.

It is therefore not a matter of surprise that the images of the above deities should be neglected. The Marāṭhās being Hindus did not lay their ruthless hands on them, this being the only redeeming feature in the tale of plunder and ravages they committed. In the midst of the bustle, neglect and ravages consequent on the above incidents, the beautiful image of Lord Gaurāṅga lost its left hand and a portion of its head was damaged. But the devotion of the people remained as firm as ever, as is proved by the fact that hundreds of pilgrims assemble here every year from distant parts of

Chaitanya
Mahāprabhu.

the country to celebrate the birth-anniversary of Chaitanya on the Dola-Pūrṇimā. On this occasion they sing the name of Hari day and night without cessation. On the Makara-Saṅkrānti day a festival is held in honour of Dadhi-Vāmana which is attended by hundreds of devotees. This is briefly the tale of the two images brought down to Pratāpapur by Rājā Pratāparudra Deva. Pratāparudra had ordered a likeness of Chaitanya to be painted in water-colours, in which the King himself is represented as lying prostrate before his great religious master. This painting, which is a rare specimen of art, is still preserved at Kuñjaghatā Rājabātī, Murshidābād. Gaurīdāsa Paṇḍita had an image of Chaitanyadeva made of *nimba* wood, and we find that another such was made here by the order of Rājā Pratāparudra. These three likenesses possess the unique historical importance of having been made during the life-time of Lord Gaurāṅga 400 years ago, and are hence objects worth being taken care of by those interested in the history of the rise and progress of the great Vaiṣṇava movement in Bengal and Orissa.

There are altogether 122 families at present living at Pratāpapur. They may be grouped as follows :—

Brāhmaṇas, Kārana, Khaṇḍāit, Puṭula Bania, Bārika, Vaiṣṇava, Magadha, Gauḍa, Dhobi, Bhūmija and Bāthudī.

In the bamboo-grove which separates Pratāpapur from Haripur may be found the stone-image of the deity called Niṇchalamaṇi, which the rustics of the place worship with great enthusiasm and earnestness. There is nothing, however, to show that this deity belongs to the Hindu Pantheon.

BADASAI (BARSĀI).

BADASAI (Barsāi) is 6 miles on the south of Pratāpur, and 17 miles away from Bāripadā. The present area was formerly occupied by four prosperous villages, *viz.*, Lāṅguli, Pāṭapur, Bali-muṇḍalī and Kumāra-Ḍāsana. These have now become an extensive field and bear vestiges of vast ruins; but the present village is called वड़साइ (literally, large village). The extensive heaps of ruins, numerous tanks, images of gods and goddesses pertaining to different religious creeds scattered in various places and the ruins of big temples, bear ample testimony to the ancient glory of this village. Ancient Jaina and Buddhist relics as well as those belonging to different sects of the Hindu religion are found here. These go to show that the influence of all three religions at one time prevailed here. How this extensive and populous place fell into ruin has not yet been correctly ascertained. The old residents state that there was a Tahṣildār's *cutchery* in village Kōṣālī on the east of Baḍasāi even during the time of Rājā Dāmodara Bhaṅja. At that time it was a populous village and was under Brāhmanic influence. Being afraid of a Marāṭhā invasion, Rājā Dāmodara fled from his capital to Bāmaṅghāṭī. During the absence of the Rājā and the royal family the State-elephant (Pāṭa-Hātī) became wild and disorderly, broke his iron chain and found his way from Haripur fort to Baḍasāi. Shortly before this, the Tahṣildār managed to bury

all the royal treasures underground and fled with his family. Those inhabitants who continued living there at the time got tired of the ravages of the mad State-elephant and eventually left the place. Thus Kōçāli, Bālimuṇḍalī, Kumāra-Çāsana and Pāṭapur became totally deserted. Within a short time of this incident, these prosperous and populous places became dense forest. Mahārāja Jadunātha Bhaṇja gave these and several other adjoining villages, such as Barapaḍā etc., to his daughter as her dowry. For this reason no other member of the royal family made any attempt to settle here. The officers in the employ of the Rājā's daughter did their utmost to reclaim these jungles and once more the place became habitable through their effort. The soil was very fertile and attracted agriculturists who reclaimed all the jungle. Thus gradually Kōçāli, Bālimuṇḍalī, Kumāra-Çāsana and Pāṭapur were converted into vast agricultural tracts. Through the exertions of an old Santal of the place, Brāhmaṇas and other respectable Hindus came to live in the northern part of Pāṭapur. Fifty or sixty years ago, at the time of clearing the jungles, the temple of Pāça-Chaṇḍī was discovered. About two hundred feet to the north-east of this temple and within the site of the present Kōçāli village, there is a high table-land. For some years past melons (फ़िट) have been growing luxuriantly on this land. The people of the locality have vague traditions about treasure being hidden in the place; they also believe that it is the abode of some invisible spirit. About 500 feet to the east and 200 feet to the south of this land are situated two big old tanks called Koṭibrāhmī and Bodhi-Pukhur respectively. At the outskirts of village Kōçāli, north of Koṭibrāhmī tank, an image of the 23rd Tīrthaṅkara

(Pārçyanātha Svāmī) has been discovered. This stone image seems to be very old. An image of Viṣṇu has also been found in the village of Kōçāli. This image is also an old one.

Among the vast ruins of Baḍasāi, there is a stone-temple which stands in the eastern part of the village. The temple, although now in ruins, is an object of much interest. It is commonly called the temple of Pāça-Chaṇḍī, Temple of Pāsachandī. a grim skeleton figure with eight arms. The original temple was 21 feet 6 inches high and its base 12 feet. On the roof and columns of the temple a Vāṭa tree (*ficus indica*) has grown about 10 feet thick. A glance at the tree will convince one that the temple must have been left neglected for centuries together and consequently fallen into decay. That its artistic beauty was of a high order is evident from the āmalaka on the top of the temple. But the plaster having entirely come away, there is now no means of forming an idea of its architectural excellence. This stone temple seems to partially indicate the influence of the Drāvidian style of architecture. The original image of the Goddess Pāça-Chaṇḍī was brought to Bāripadā and in its place a figure, $1\frac{1}{2}$ cubits high, of Nārasimhī has been substituted. (Plate No. 32). In front of the temple is a court-yard where heaps of stones are lying scattered about. One is tempted to think that these are the ruins of a Nāṭamandira. Human skulls having been found here, there is a popular belief that formerly human sacrifices were offered here in large numbers before the goddess. There are traces here and there of the Kurumberā (enclosures) which existed in early times round



the temple and the tank. This Kurumberā is about 200 by 200 feet. Formerly on each side of the *Simha-dvāra* (Lion-gate) of the enclosure there was the figure of a lion standing on elephant. (Plate

No. 66). These two figures have now been removed and placed on the courtyard of the temple. The sculptural beauty of the figure of a lion piercing the head of an elephant is superb and compels admiration. The figures of the Goddess and lion are made of excellent chlorite. The lion is 2 cubits high and $1\frac{1}{2}$ cubits broad. Formerly people used to call the place Naramuṇḍa-bali or Bali-Naramuṇḍa—as numerous human saci-



66. LION ON ELEPHANT.

fices used to be offered to this goddess. To this fact probably the village owes its name Naramuṇḍalī (the place of human sacrifices).

Tradition says, that the temple of the Goddess was built by the Bhañja Rājā Vikramāditya. The Āsana which was granted here by his youngest son, Prince Balabhadra Bhañja, was known among the people as “Kumāra Balabhadrapur-Āsana.” This name was latterly corrupted into ‘Kumār-Āsana’ and later still to

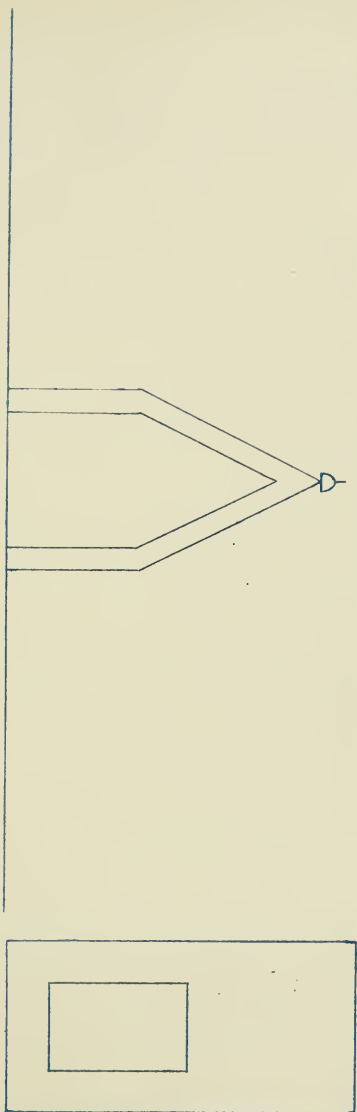
Komāṇṣana. The ruins of this Kumāra-Çāsana still exist in the northern part of Baḍasāi. Fragments of stone with artistic carvings thereon are found underground here. The place is likely to yield rich material for history in the shape of ancient relics to systematic and well directed excavations.

We are not, however, prepared to accept the tradition crediting Rājā Vīra Vikramāditya with having built the temple. Rājā Vīra Vikramāditya flourished 250 years ago, and most likely the temple was deserted before that period. The temple was erected long before the time of this Rājā, during Çākta ascendancy. There are also other considerations which cannot be ignored. Vikramāditya was a Vaiṣṇava by faith and the present Rādhā-mohana temple of Haripur and Guṇḍichā of Vṛndāvanapur (Vīra Vikramāditya Çāsana), were built by him. Most likely Balabhadra Bhañja stayed here and granted the Çāsana* in behalf of his father. That is the reason why the Brāhmaṇas who were benefited by this Çāsana used to ascribe everything that was good and noble in the locality to Vīra Vikramāditya. The place where Kumāra Balabhadra Bhañja used to live became famous as Kumārçālī; it is now called Kōçālī and lies half a mile to the east of Baḍasāi. The Brāhmaṇas of Balabhadrapur-Çāsana have become almost extinct; the few surviving members of their families reside at Mādhavapur.

We are inclined to regard the temple of Pāṇa-chaṇḍī as a relic of Çākta influence. People used to reverence the Pāṇa-Chaṇḍī of this place as the presiding deity of Baḍasāi and its

* For particulars see the Report on Kōçālī.

SECTION ON A.B.



of an old temple newly discovered at Badasāi.



neighbouring villages. In the Tantras she is called 'Rudra-Bhairavī.' (Plate No. 37).

On the bank of a large tank in Badāsāi is a small figure popularly known as *Chandra-Senā*. The villagers regard *Chandra-Senā* as the chief deity of the village. In its honour *Uḍāparva* or *Chadaka Pūjā* (the hook-swinging festival) is celebrated with great *eclat* every year and at the time ten to fifteen thousand men flock to this place. Brāhmaṇas are not entitled to perform its pūjā ; the Dahuris or priests of the deity, who do so, are a low class people of the village.

The name *Chandra-Senā* excited our curiosity and we became eager to see it. Contrary to our expectation we found that it was not the image of any Deva, but simply a small Buddhist chaitya made of stone which is $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet high. On each side of this chaitya is a naked figure, which appears to every one to be the representation of Bodhisattvas in a crude form. (Plate No. 53). As already observed, *Uḍāparva* is celebrated in honour of *Chandra-Senā* on the full-moon day of *Vaiṣākha* when great enthusiasm is displayed by the people.



53. CHANDRA SENA.

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53. CHANDRA SENA.

The Buddhists often worship stūpas or chaityas. In the Bara-Badar temple of Java we come across numerous chaityas which the people and the women-folk in particular, are represented as garlanding or otherwise approaching with marks of veneration. It was in this way that Chandra-Senā, the votive chaitya came to draw the homage of the people of the locality.*

About 200 yards on the south-east of the temple of Pāṇa-Chaṇḍī, there is a very old tank called Bodhipukur. Half of it has become marshy and is known as "Bilgaḍiā" This has now been brought under cultivation. Chandra-Senā used formerly to stand on the bank of the tank. The term 'Bodhipukur' calls up Buddhist associations.

On the left side of Chandra-Senā is the image of a goddess with two hands. She is popularly but erroneously called Kālikā. She holds a kind of broom-stick, peculiar to Mayūrabhaṇja, in her right hand and, in her left, a jar ; there is, besides, the figure of an ass by her side. (Plate No. 51). This naturally reminds one of our Ālālā. Mahāmahopādhyāya Hara Prasād Āstrī noticed the figures of Dvāra-Pāla, Ālālā and Hārītī in front of every Buddhist shrine in Nepal. Probably in this place also, the figure of Ālālā was set up in some Buddhist Vihāra of which all traces have been lost.

It has been mentioned that, there are more than 50 tanks in Baḍasāi and its neighbourhood. Of these nine are very large. The popular belief here is that these big tanks were excavated five to seven hundred years ago. During the re-excava-

* For particulars see the Introduction (on Modern Buddhism and its Followers in Mayurabhanja).

tion of Tāla Pukhur, three small swords like daggers were found. The water of this tank occasionally forms whirlpools. In Vaiçākha or Jaiṣṭhya after Uḍā-Parva, these are clearly perceptible; and at that time many fishes die and float on the surface of the water. The common folk of this place believe that this fish mortality is the precursor of the rainy season. Formerly, owing to a superstitious feeling, nobody would touch the water of this tank. Of the presiding deities of the village Chandra-Senā, Kālikā and Rāotānī, are the chief. We have described Chandra-Senā already. Rāotānī is the figure of a goddess with four hands—seated on a throne. This is a figure of Dharma. (Plate No. 52). Besides these, there are images of other gods and goddesses, such as Kanaka-Durgā, Kālimāyī, Koṭāsani, Maṅgalā, Gaṇapati, Chaṇḍī Thākuraṇī, Kenduāsani, Baddā, Mardarāja, Simhavāhini, Andhārī, Gañjāi Buḍī, etc.

We have already noticed that the local Brāhmaṇas are not eligible for performing the pūjā of these village deities. This is done by the Dahuris. But the pūjā of these deities is not performed by one tribe. That of Maṅgalā Devī is performed only by Bhūmijas and that of Mardarāja by Bāthudis. The images of these village gods and goddesses are found on the banks of the tanks and at the foot of the bamboo-groves or under big trees.

Old manuscripts written on palm-leaves are found in many houses. Among them we noticed a few Bengali manuscripts written in Uriyā characters. Of these "Satyanārāyaṇa" of Saṅkarācārya deserves mention. The manuscript is divided into 16 pālās or chapters, the total number of ṣloka being about 5000. The

“Satyanārāyaṇa Pālā”, now extant in Bengal, is not so big as this. It is a matter of no small wonder that the work of a Bengali poet, who flourished more than 300 years ago, is read, recited and sung in the obscure hill-tracts and out-of-the-way places in the remote corners of Utkala ! It is probable that if all the villages of Utkala were explored in this way, works of many old writers of Bengal and Utkala might be rescued from oblivion.

This village is now inhabited by Brāhmaṇas, Khaṇḍāits, Telis, Baisvāniyās, Guḍiās, Rādhis, Present inhabitants. Dhobis (washermen), Grahaviṇpras (astrologers), Mudis (grocers), Keots, Hādis, Domas, Paṭhāns, Bhūiyās, Bhūmijas, Pāns, Bāthudis and Santals. Of these, Bhūmijas, Bāthudis and Domas are the largest in number, their total numerical strength may be estimated at 1000. Bhūmijas are regarded as an aboriginal tribe ; but the Bhūmijas of this place appear to be considerably advanced. They wear the sacred thread, profess Hinduism and educate their children. They perform the puṇā of Maṅgalā Thākuraṇī, no others being deemed eligible for this office. Goats, swans, pigeons and cocks are sacrificed before the goddess. Their *mantras* are in *Thār* or hill-dialect. The Hādis of this place informed us that there is a manuscript called “Viṣṇu Prāṇa” which treats of the origin of their caste and similar matters. The Domas also informed us that the Domāchāryas of the Nilgiri possess books which deal with their origin, and social usages.

Rāsa-Jātīā is celebrated here with great *eclat*. During this festival fifty to sixty thousand people from different parts of Mayūrabhaṇja assemble here.

KÖÇALI.

As already stated, the village Köçālī is half a mile east of Baḍasālī. Formerly common people used to call it Komāçālī. Köçālī is a corruption of Kumāraçālī. We noticed already that Balabhadra Bhañja, the youngest son of Rājā Vīra Vikramāditya, lived here for some time ; hence the village was named “Kumāraçālī.”

In this village, there were formerly two temples, one of Pārçvanātha and the other of Puruṣottama.

The place where the Pārçvanātha-image was set up in ancient times, was excavated in April, 1907. The western side of this place is 90 feet in length, the eastern side being 102 feet, the northern 55 feet and the southern 86 feet respectively. The portion already excavated has revealed the existence of an entire foundation and a portion of the ground floor of an ancient Jaina temple. The temple appears to have had a sanctum (Garbhagrha) and a Jagamohana. It faces north. There is no means of ascertaining how long it has been in ruins. People say that earth had accumulated over the ruins of the temple 5 to 6 feet deep. But it was afterwards removed and the ground levelled for the purposes of cultivation. We have been able to discover stone foundations here two to three feet below the ground. During the excavation a large āmalaka was discovered amidst the ruins. The style of sculpture seems to be ancient

and very fine. The ceiling of the rooms within the temple has iron work attached. This iron work, found during the excavation, proves that from very early times the people of Mayūrabhañja knew how to use that metal for building purposes. Specimens of pottery used in ancient times have also been found.

The site of the Puruṣottama temple lies in the south-western part of the village ; but, beyond the remnants of underground stone foundations (not very high), on a piece of land, no trace whatever of this temple exists at present. Here a stone Chakra (discus of Viṣṇu) and a Kalāṣa were also found, which have been preserved in the house of a Khaṇḍāiat of Kōṣāli. These are considered sacred and worshipped. The circumference of the Chakra is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ cubits. It is made of laterite (Baṭl-mālā stone), and its workmanship is very fine.

The image of Puruṣottama which was in the temple at one time is now lying under a *hijjal* tree on the eastern border of Kōṣāli with the Pārṣvanātha (locally called Ananta). The image or Pārṣvanātha is 3 cubits while that of Puruṣottama is about 2 cubits high. Puruṣottama is a name of Viṣṇu. The image is made of fine granite and its workmanship is admirable. The image of the Pārṣvanātha Svāmī appears to be much older than that of "Puruṣottama." (Plate No. 20). The image is standing on a serpent, and a serpent with uplifted hood looks over its head. There is a tradition current among the old Brāhmaṇa families of the place to the effect that the Puruṣottama temple was erected prior to the time of Vīra Vikramāditya Bhañja. We are rather inclined to believe that it was erected at a much earlier period.

RANĪBĀNDH.

THREE miles to the west of Baḍasāi lies the village of Rāṇībāndh Mākariā. It appears to be a very old place. There was a stone fortress at this place and some 12 tanks are situated on all sides of it and one in the middle. On the northern border of the latter, ruins of a very ancient Īiva-temple are to be found. Inside the temple is a "Īiva-Liṅga" with a Gaurī-paṭṭa, which is worshipped even to this day. A sum is set apart from the Raj-treasury to meet the expenses of the pūjā. On both sides of the "Īiva-Liṅga" there are two stone bulls. We noticed also a small wheel and the image of a Deva, in a standing posture, which is 6 inches in height. Lying scattered on all sides of the tank, are carved stones several of which are fine specimens of ancient architectural design and workmanship. On all sides of the tank, though worn out at places, runs a stone pavement. On the outskirts of Rāṇībāndh we noticed two Buddhist images—3 feet long and $2\frac{1}{4}$ feet broad; one is the figure of a Avalokiteśvara and the other that of the Buddhist Tārā-Devī. The image of Tārā-Devī is broken in part. (Plates Nos. 40 and 41). The two images were formerly kept in the adjacent village of Meghā. But the deaths of some women of the village frightened the superstitious villagers who attributed the evil to the influence of the above two Devas, and

forthwith removed them to the outskirts of the village. Small images of various gods and goddesses are also to be found there.

The presiding deities of the village at present are Kālikā, Gobrā Suriānī, Buḍiānī, Kotāsani, Asānsurānī, Sundaragaurā, Kāndārpasuriānī, and Mahāvīra. The images of these deities are made of stones of different shapes and they lie under trees in three different places of the village, their pūjās being performed by the Dahuris. Formerly Sarāks (Çrāvaka) used to come to the village and perform the pūjā of Mahāvīra. The old families of the village are now extinct. The present inhabitants, numbering about 70 families, have settled here recently. Of these, Bāthudis, Bhūmiās and Santals are numerically the strongest, there being only one or two families of Brāhmaṇas, Vaiṣṇavas, Bindhānis (blacksmiths) and Itāṁsis (weavers). It is the current belief of the people that many images of gods and goddesses are lying buried here which may be brought to light by excavation.

GAJĀRI ÇĀSANA.

ONE and a half miles to the east of Rāṇībāndh, is Gajāri-Brāhmaṇa-Çāsana. Some twelve families of Angirasa Brāhmaṇas live here. The place is surrounded by dense forest on all sides. Within the village there is a tank which is believed to have been dug under the orders of a ruling chief. One mile to the east of the Çāsana lies the extensive field of Kusumapur, dotted with long rows of large mangoe-trees and interspersed with heaps of ruins. Formerly these heaps were more numerous, but most of them have been cleared and the land has been converted into paddy-fields. The existence of these ruins proves that the place was once thickly populated.

ÇANṬHILO.

ONE mile from Betnaṭi station and seven miles from Baḍasāi is the ancient village Çanṭhilo. This village shews heaps of ruins over an area of about 100×50 cubits. These ruins are of an old fort that had on the eastern and western sides two big tanks which have now been partly silted up. The village which was once so important as to be fortified, possessed its gods and goddesses with picturesque temples. In front of the ruins of the fort, stone slabs in which artistic figures appear in bas-relief with other fine carvings, have been preserved in a hut. These slabs indicate the existence at one time of beautiful temples in the place. Images of Dvāra-Vāsini, Nṛsimha, Kṛṣṇa and other deities, broken by the reckless hands of the iconoclasts and bearing marks of ravages made by time, lie huddled together in the hut.



Ruins of Candhilo-garh near *Belanti Sta.*

MANTRI.

MANTRI is situated 6 miles to the south-east of Baḍasāi and 23 from Bāripadā. The place is well known throughout Utkala for the temple of its presiding deity Kakhāruā Vaidyanātha. The people here were required to pay three Mānas of paddy to the deity, a practice not yet altogether given up. The name Mānatraya or Mānatri (lit. three Mānas) is said to have originated in this way.

Kakhāruā Vaidyanātha is believed to possess immense power. He is known as Jāgrata Devatā (a living Deity). He readily grants all prayers. Hundreds of people come here from distant parts of the country to present offerings to the deity. During Īva-rātri, Jātrās are held here in honour of this god. Nearly fifty to sixty thousand pilgrims assemble to join in this festival and give offerings to the temple. Vaidyanātha here occupies the same place as Tārakeṣvara in Bengal.

Tradition says that a Rājā of the Somavaṃśa was attacked with white leprosy, his whole body becoming white like Kakhāru (pumpkin or gourd). This circumstance led his people to call him "Kakhāruā." With a view to get rid of the disease, Kakhāruā came to Deoghar and gave Dharmā, *i.e.*, prostrated himself before Vaidyanātha and remained in that condition without food, until the God granted his prayer. The God appeared to him in a vision and said, "I am lying concealed under water in Pergunnah Kuṇḍi in Mayūrabhaṅja ;

pick me up and worship me and your leprosy will be cured." Accordingly, the Rājā came to this place and made a search but could not find the Deity. He again fasted and remained there in the same condition, prostrating himself. This time the command of the God was:—"Throw stones into the water and you shall get me." Accordingly, stones were thrown into the water; and no sooner had this been done, than a Āiva-Liṅga was found floating on the surface of the water. At the sight of the god the Rājā's leprosy was cured. With a view to commemorate the event, he erected a temple on the spot where the Āiva-Liṅga had appeared and set it up there amidst the great rejoicings of the people. From the fact that the Rājā's disease, which gave him the look of a Kakhāru, was cured by Vaidyanātha, the God came to be called Kakhāruā Vaidyanātha.

By the side of the above temple, is an old reservoir. It is called Kuṇḍī or Kuṇḍa. Water is to be found in this Kuṇḍa throughout the year and the place is connected with the river Gaṅgābhāra. Gaṅgābhāra and the Kuṇḍī surround the Vaidyanātha Kṣetra on three sides. The architectural design and workmanship of the temple are that of the 15th or 16th century A. D. We also find that in the Mādalā Pañjī of Jagannātha, mention is made, of a Rājā named Kakhāruā. Sir W. W. Hunter has probably misread 'Kakhārua' for 'Kakhāruā'.* According to the Pañjī the Rājā who reigned from 1454 to 1456, was assassinated by his minister Govinda Vidyādhara, who having murdered Rājā Kakhāruā and the whole royal family, secured

* Vide Hunter's "Orissa" Vol. II, Appx p. 189.

the throne for himself. At Mānagovindapur, which is only a mile to the east of Māntri, extensive ruins of a castle are still to be seen. People believe that this castle was built by Govinda Vidyādhara who probably called himself Mānagovinda on coming to the throne. The descendants of Mānagovinda are now living in a village called Tentul-mundā, 4 miles to the south of Māntri. It is said that they have in their possession the copper-plate grant of Govinda Vidyādhara.

The Vaidyanātha temple is divided into three parts—Nāṭamandira, Jagamohana and Garbha-Gr̥ha or Mūlamandira. Of these the room where the Īiva-Liṅga is kept is called the Garbha-Gr̥ha. The Garbha-Gr̥ha and the Jagamohana are known to be the work of Kakhāruā. The Nāṭamandira was built by Rājā Jadunatha Bhañja ; on both sides of the Nāṭamandira are two small Īiva temples erected by Rājā Īrīnātha Bhañja and Dāmodara Paṭṭanāyaka Chhāmukaṭapa. Rājā Kakhāruā contented himself with erecting only the main building of the temple. His minister after usurping the throne by treachery, not only built a castle at Mānagovindapur, but also erected a lofty and extensive Kurumberā (stone enclosure) around the Kakhāruā Vaidyanātha temple. In fact this enclosure appears like a Prākāra or rampart of a fort. Over it there is a space where the king and his general could sit, and a strong parapet from which four or five hundred soldiers could fire cannons or discharge arrows. The common people ascribe the temple to the king Mānagovinda, probably on account of the fact that the Minister Govinda Vidyādhara built this stone wall here for the purpose of self-defence, after he had usurped his

master's throne. Neither Kakhāruā nor Govinda was a member of the Bhañja family and this explains why the local people speak of Vaidyanātha temple as the work of a foreign king. From a recent and authoritative quotation from the Mādālā Pañjī, supplied to us by the Collector of Puri, we learn that Mahārāja Govinda Deva married his sister into the family of the Bhañja Rājās. It is also on record that his sister's son, Raghu Bhañja Chhoṭarāya, rose in rebellion against his maternal uncle and had a hard struggle with him at Chitrapur on the other side of the Mahānadī. Hence we learn that Govinda Deva was nearly related to the Bhañja Rājās.

There were some inscriptions in the Kakhāruā Vaidyanātha temple, besides stone and copper-plate grants in the houses of the Brāhmaṇas attached to the temple. According to the Pāṇḍās of the place Pṛthvinātha Bhañja, the youngest brother of Jadunātha Bhañja, while building a Nāṭamandira had the stone inscriptions plastered over so as to completely obliterate any trace of them. He besides seized the copper-plate grants and had them removed from the Pāṇigrāhī of this place.

Kakhāruā Vaidyanātha temple is picturesque in appearance. It attracts travellers from long distances. Several obscene pictures are to be found on the three sides of the Mūla-Mandira. On the spire of the temple there is a Triṣūla (Trident) of Ṣiva and below it on the Kalāṣa and Mohana there are beautiful images of various gods and goddesses. In the niches on the left wall of the Kurumberā are several images. Of these the image of Ṣākyasīmha and his foster-mother Gautamī is most interesting. (Plate No. 24).

A mile to the east of the temple is the river Gaṅgāhāra. The view of the Mūla-Mandira of Kakhāruā Vaidyanātha from the banks of this river is very charming. On the other side, the Vaidyanātha Kuṇḍa wends its serpentine course close by the temple and then loses itself in the river Gaṅgāhāra. Devotees after bathing in the river come to pay their worship to the temple. They approach it by the austere process of Daṇḍi known all over India. The devotee falls prostrate measuring the whole length of his body on the earth and rises to fall down again thus continuing the process till the temple is reached.

The ceremonies in connection with the worship of Kakhāruā Vaidyanātha are performed after those of Vaidyanātha Mahādeo of Deoghar. There are excellent arrangements for divine service in the temple. Each Sevāit has lands granted to him and these lākherāj lands extend for miles together on the outskirts of the village Māntri. There are altogether 30 families entrusted with the duty of worshipping the god and preparing the Bhoga (offerings of daily meal) for him; and this duty comes up successively. Besides, another village Gaṇḍagāo is set apart as lākherāj for the supply of milk to the temple; so is Chandanapura (which is a mile off) for Chandana (Sandal), and Mau-pura (which adjoins Chandanapura) for honey. Besides, the Rājās of Mayūrabhañja occasionally granted the Pāṇḍās absolute exemption from tax. Some Brāhmaṇas, specially appointed for the purpose by the Rājā of Mayūrabhañja, come here to recite Īva-stotram and chant Vaidika hymns in the months of Vaiçākha, Kārttika and Māgha.

Many Sanskrit and Uriyā manuscripts were to be found in the houses of these Pāṇḍās.

Many of them were destroyed during the Marāṭhā raids while many others were lost by fire. The residents of this place were very much harassed on account of the Marāṭhā invasions. The Pāṇḍās relate the tales of the terrible oppression perpetrated by the invaders as vividly as if they had only lately occurred. We learnt from them that the Marāṭhās used frequently to find their way here from a place called Guḍadā in British territory and carry on their depredations. Not content with ravaging the country around, they at various times approached the temples, disregarding their sanctity, and burnt down the houses of the Pāṇḍās. When the month of Phālguna would come round, the Pāṇḍās used to bury their paddy underground, leave the village with their families and take refuge in Bāndarbani forest on the banks of the river Sona near Sāikolā during those dreaded Marāṭhā raids. In the month of Āṣāḍha before the rains set in, the Marāṭhās would leave Māntri and their departure was the signal for the Pāṇḍās to come back with their families and follow their avocations. In this way for 10 to 12 years, the Pāṇḍās continued to be harassed, and thus did Māntri lose for ever her former prosperity.

There are remains of an ancient fort about half a mile to the west of the temple of Vaidyanātha. Tradition has it that Rāmachandra Bhaṇja, Rājā of Mayūrabhaṇja, constructed this fort and lived in it for some time. It is further stated that adjoining it was once a big city, and that at one time both fortress and city were thickly populated. Of the latter there are still traces by the side of the fort. People deserted this place owing to the fierce invasion of probably the Muhammadans. The fort was destroyed



Temple of Kakharua Vaidyanatha at Mautri.

by them. The remnants of the latter are to be found over an area 700 feet in length and 550 feet in breadth. The broken images of Dvāravāsini and Gaḍachandī may be seen at the eastern and western gates of the fortress respectively.

The following is a quotation from the writings of an English official in 1784 A. D., in which he describes how Māntri, Māngovindapur and Bhīmadā fell into the hands of the Marāṭhās :—

“The first considerable avulsion from the Mohur-Bunje Zemindary was the Fouzdary of Pepley, the next that of Balasore, since which so many Taluks have been taken from it that the Rajah has now no land to the east-ward of the road I came.

“At this time there were two Rajahs of Mohur-bunje or the wood* of peacocks. Dusrratha Bunje being dispossessed by his nephew Damoodah Bunje of some lands he held, retired into the Neelgur country.

“He was joined by Jehan Mahommad, the principal military commander who was also disgusted. These two went to Bhawani Pundit, the Governor of Orissa, promising to discover large treasures and the avenues into the country, on condition he should establish the uncle in the sovereignty.

“Bhowani marched his army and came alternately before the forts of Mangovindpur, Mantree and Bindat the garrisons of which Jehan Mahommad by his influence reduced to surrender without a blow. Damoodah was hastening to

* The writer evidently confounds Bhanja with Bana.

the relief of those places, judging from this treachery that he was betrayed, ran away to the pass of Boumingantee among the hills and left his competition in possession of Hurrarpur the capital of the plain country.”*

It appears from the above that the Marāthās kept up their raids till their Sūbādār was killed by Dina-Vandhu Kumāra, the then General of the Bhañjas. The descendants of the Kumāra are still living at Paṭisāri a village 3 miles to the west of Māntri. The present Sardār of Paṭisāri is a descendant of that General. According to tradition, the fort of Māntri was built by Rājā Rāmachandra Bhañja in 731 amli era. According to another story, current among the local Brāhmaṇas, Champet Simha, a scion of the Kendujhar Rāj family, came here to save the kingdom from the Muhammadan invasion, but was killed by the Marāthās and his family went away to Kendujhar (Keonjhar State).

In Māntri there are at present living 3 Brāhmaṇa families, 2 Khaṇḍāit, 20 Gauda, one family of barbers, 10 families of Gandharvas, 5 of Hāḍis, and 10 of Kaivartas (fishermen). The Gandharvas sing and dance in the Vaidyanātha temple. For this purpose they were engaged and brought here by the Rājā of Utkala when the temple was first built.

* “A Journey to Sambalpur *via* Balasore,” written, 1784, by an English official (in the *Asiatic Miscellany*, Vol. II.).

PRITHVINĀTHAPUR ÇĀSANA.

Two miles west of Māntri lies Pr̥thvināthapura Çāsana. It is commonly known as Musāgaḍiā. Kumāra Pr̥thvinātha Bhañja, the younger brother of Rājā Jadunatha Bhañja, founded this Çāsana. Here he brought 22 families of Brāhmanas who settled in this place where their descendants are still living. At present, Brāhmanas of the following Gotras and Surnames are found in the village, viz. :—

1. Gotra :—Hārīta, Gautama, Vaçiṣṭha, Kauçika, Atreya, Kṛṣṇātreya, Dattātreyā, Kapiñjala, Mudgala, Çambhukara, Parāçara, Bhara-dvāja.

2. Upādhi (surname) :—Achārya, Satapathī, Saḍaṅgī, Mahāpātra, Ratha, Dāsa, Kara, and Miçra.

These Brāhmanas profess to be Smārtas. Their original home was Pūrī. Their Iṣṭadevas are Raghunātha and Gopīnātha. The followers of the former are Kulīnas and follow Rik, Yayus, and Sāmavedas.

HARICHANDRA-GAḌA.

FIVE miles south of Māntri, the ruins of the fort of Harichandra or Hariç-chandra are to be seen. Adjoining are Hariçchandrapur, Bhañja-Chhaḍā and Kuliā Maujā near the village of Maṅgalpura in Parganaḥ Akhuā Deuliā. In this place an image of Durgā Thākurāṇī is to be found, the deity having been installed here by Rājā Hari-Chandra. Formerly, there was a large temple made of laterite. This is now in ruins, although some portion of the Kurumberā (enclosure) still exists.

KURĀRIYĀ-GAḌA.

ABOUT 5 miles east of Māntri there are extensive ruins of an old fort called Kurāriyā-Gaḍa. The date of its construction has not yet been ascertained. In form it was octagonal, with eight rooms, one at each corner. The size of the bricks used in this fort is $9'' \times 6'' \times 2''$. Besides these brick-built rooms, there are to be found on its northern side the ruins of one built of stone. In the centre there is a beautiful Vāpī (well) with stone pavements. This Vāpī is $15' \times 15'$ and has a flight of 26 steps, each of the latter being 2 cubits broad. On the left side of the last step there is a stone platform on the northern edge of the tank. Here, it is said, the Rājās and the gentry of the locality would assemble of an evening, using the spacious platform as a recreation-ground where they would play chess, while the cool breeze, laden with the fragrance of flowers in the neighbouring garden, rendered the place exceedingly enjoyable in summer time. There was only one entrance, in front of the platform. If this were closed, the place became perfectly safe from the attacks of enemies. Formerly over this platform there was a stone canopy which no longer exists. On the eastern side was the main gate (Simha-dvāra). A stone temple of Gaḍa-Chaṇḍī once stood here. Though it has now disappeared, a Kalaṣa belonging to the broken temple has been placed to mark the site of old Gaḍa Chaṇḍī. When

the fort of Māntri fell into the hands of the Marāṭhās, Rājā Dāmodara Bhañja, with a view to save his kingdom, hastened to Kurāriyā-Gaḍa with his troops ; but owing both to the treachery of his own General as well as to the unscrupulous conduct and the military strategy of the Marāṭhās, he was obliged to leave the fort. He had stored up there a large quantity of rice so that he might be able to hold out for a long time. Before leaving the fort, however, he set fire to the stock. By the side of the store-room was a Khāmār. Remnants of the burnt rice are found scattered here even to this day. After the flight of Dāmodara Bhañja, the Marāṭhās demolished the fort of Kurāriyā. Heaps of brick and stone are to be seen on all sides ; these are the relics of the fort. The place has become covered with jungle. The water of the Vāpī (well) here is still very clear and is used by the people of the neighbouring villages for drinking purposes. On the south-eastern side of the fort there is another tank which is overgrown with dense weeds. It has a flight of stone steps ; but its water is not fit for use. In the village adjoining the fort there live 2 Brāhmāna families, 10 Khaṇḍāits, and 30 to 32 families of Kolas and Santals.

DEVAGRĀMA.

TWELVE miles west of Māntri ; 30 from Bāripadā and 3 west of the Thānā Jaypur is Devagrāma or Degão. The river Sona flows by the side of this village. Ruins of an ancient temple or temples are still to be seen in the village on the banks of the river. The place was a centre of Brahmanical influence and abounded with the images of different deities—hence it was named Devagrāma. A change in the course of the river and other causes combined to bring destruction on a large number of temples with their images. Remnants of these are still lying in two places of the village. The images of Gaṇeṣa and Pārvatī with a Īva-Liṅga in front of them also lie neglected under a tree. These were formerly enshrined in a temple of which, however, no trace now exists. As we pass by these images we find a figure of Chāmūṇḍā with eight arms on a heap of stones under a big Vata tree (*ficus indica*). It is the image of a grim-looking Goddess, the emaciated body disclosing a hideous skeleton with the bones and ribs all laid bare. There is a string of heads (muṇḍa) round the neck. There are besides the figures of Haṁsa, Vaka and Maṇiṣāsura, and that of a fox drinking the blood of Maṇiṣāsura on the pedestal. The workmanship of the lotus-seat (Padmāsana) is very beautiful. The figure of the Puruṣa is decorated with various ornaments, with a gorgeous crown on his head. The pedestal which, as has already been said, shews superior and artistic workmanship, leads one to suppose that that

in the main temple (Mūla-Mandira) must have been no less admirable. By the side of the image of Chāmuṇḍā, there are a Çiva-Liṅga, a figure of lion and an image of a goddess—all broken. The temple of Chāmuṇḍā was engulfed by the river Sona. Fragments of stone are still lying in the river bed. The temple had an extensive Kurumberā. There were round it four doors of which some traces of only the eastern one may be seen. The Goddess Chāmuṇḍā has now been placed under a Vaṭa-tree near the southern door, and Ganeça, Pārvatī and the Çiva-Liṅga on the site where the western door probably stood. Tradition has it that the king who erected the Kakhāruā Vaidyanātha temple, also erected the Chāmuṇḍā temple in Devagrāma; but this tradition is unfounded. These ruins are probably more ancient than that of Kakhāruā Vaidyanātha.

BANDAR-BANI.

BANDAR-BANI stands on the river Sona about 2 miles east of the Jaypur Post Office near Devagrāma. On the other side of the river is the prosperous village of Sāikolā. During the Marāṭhā inroads the Pāṇḍās of Kakhāruā Vaidyanāth used to stay at Bāndarbani. The huts where they lived are now in ruins, mounds of rubbish being seen in their place. On all sides there are mango-groves which abound with monkeys.

KHUNTĀ.

TWENTY miles to the south-east of Bāripadā, there is an important village called Khuntā, south-west of the Dāk-Bungalow, where brick-ruins of an ancient fort are found. The fort was formerly called Chhoṭari or Chhoṭarāo-Gaḍa. Tradition says that from this place, Chhoṭarāo, a scion of the Bhañja-Rāj family, defended his kingdom against repeated attacks of his enemies. He was held in great dread by the kings of Utkala. This Chhoṭarāo of Chhoṭari-gaḍa may be no other than the brave Raghu Bhañja Chhoṭa-Rāya—mentioned in Mādalā Pañji. The area of the Gaḍa is 5 or 6 Māns. There was a Murachā (moat) at the main entrance (Sīmha-dvāra) and other places of the fort. Some traces of the Murachā are still visible. An image of Mahiṣāsuri Devī, formerly worshipped here, disappeared during the Marāṭhā raids. The place was once deserted, and has only in recent times begun to be reinhabited.

DHUDHUĀ OR DURDUHĀ.

Two miles to the north of Baḍakhunṭā and 18 from Bāripadā stands a hillock named Durḍuhā. The sound of the water-fall here is heard from a long distance; hence it is called Dhuḍhuā or Durḍuhā (from 'Dhuḍhu' sound). The area of the hillock may be 5 or 6 *mans*. To the south of it lies a lake. The water of this lake incessantly runs into a Pīṭha in the Dhuḍhuā hill from whence it falls into a reservoir (*kuṇḍa*) below the Pīṭha. The overflowing water of this *kuṇḍa* forms a river known as the Gaṅgāhāra which flows by the side of Dhuḍhuā, and has become united with the Buḍa-Balang. The Pīṭha from which the water-fall issues a second time, to form the river appears to be the Yonī-Pīṭha or Gaurī-Paṭṭa of some Liṅga. With the help of some local Santals we had the flow of water stopped, and the water and sand in the Pīṭha taken out, when it was seen that a Svayambhū-Liṅga still exists in the Pīṭha. The mysterious appearance of a Īśa Liṅga from the bottom of the cavity from which the water-fall runs carried us back to the age of mythological heroes of India, and curiously enough we found recorded, in a work called Gaṅgā-Vārunī Māhātmya, an account of this Liṅga of which even tradition bore no evidence. In that book it is related that the five Pāṇḍavas with Kuntī, their mother, came on a pilgrimage to this place. So devout was Kuntī that she never would drink a drop of water before



Dhudhná Várni hillock.

worshipping Çiva with the Ganges water. But as none was available here, her pūjā could not be performed and she remained without food for three days. Bhīma resolved to provide against this, and underwent certain austerities to propitiate Mahādeva. The latter, who was pleased with Bhīma's devotion, appeared before him and said,—"Bhīma, the Ganges for whose sake you are doing penance (tapasyā) is in my matted hair (jaṭā) and I shall dishevel it and let loose the stream for your sake." Immediately Gaṅgā appeared and flowed from the matted hair of Çiva and the water of the Ganges thus obtained flowed by Prāchī-Tīrtha as a river. Kuntī worshipped Çiva with the Ganges-water and considered herself blessed. The Çiva-Liṅga which Bhīma had worshipped still exists within the Pīṭha. From the head of that Çiva-Liṅga Gaṅgā-hāra springs and, flowing continually, discharges itself into the Rohiṇī-Kuṇḍa at the foot of the Pīṭha. It is the belief of the people that one who, after bathing in this Rohiṇī-Kuṇḍa, visits and worships the Çiva-Liṅga within the Pīṭha, need not be born again, but is freed from all sins. Such is the brief story given in Gaṅgā-Vāruṇī Māhātmya, regarding the origin and sanctity of this water-fall.

Rohiṇī-Kuṇḍa is called Domanī Kuṇḍa by local Santals and Bhūmiyās. The area of the Kuṇḍa is 12 × 12 cubits. By the side of this there is another Kuṇḍa. On the Vāruṇī-day for some strange reason the water of this Kuṇḍa overflows, thus attaining special sanctity in the eyes of the people. It is stated in the Gaṅgā-Vāruṇī Māhātmya that if one bathes in the water and gives alms on the Vāruṇī-day, the accumulated sins committed in past lives are cancelled, and his ancestors also share his good

will. Formerly on the occasion of Vārūnī a big melā used to be held here in the month of Chaitra at which about twenty-five thousand people would assemble. On these occasions the aforesaid Çiva-Liṅga and Gaṅgā were worshipped with great *cclat*. In consequence of a quarrel between the Sardars of Belākuṭī and Khuṇṭā, the melā ceased to be held. On the west of the Rohiṇī or Domanī Kuṇḍa is Dudurkolā and on the east Ghāt-Çilā. Dudurkolā is situated within Khuṇṭā Parganā and Ghāt-Çilā within Belākuṭī Parganā. A stone temple existed here in a bygone age. Its *āmalaka* is still found on the western side of Dhuḍhuā. On the right side of the Kuṇḍa may be seen the image of a god with two arms, seated on a cock. He holds aloft a mace (*gadā*) in his right hand, his left being placed on the bird's mouth. On one side of the image is a beautiful Çiva-Liṅga, believed to be a Svayambhū (self-created) Liṅga. On the south-west of the Kuṇḍa, the ruins of the stone temple may also be seen. A new vāpī has been constructed at Baḍa Khuṇṭā of stone found in these ruins by the side of which quantities of large bricks are found underground. There was a stone enclosure (*Kurumberā*) round the temple, slight traces of which still exist here and there. On the western side of the above is a reservoir which is now dry. In the village adjoining Dhuḍhuā there now reside twenty-five families of Santāls and five of Bhūmijās.

GHĀṬṢILĀ & HALDIGHĀṬĀ.

To the east of Dhuḍhuā rises a hill called Ghāṭṣilā. Here, in a cave, may be seen the image of a four-armed goddess, called Lakhāi-Chaṇḍī (Vāgiṣvarī of the Buddhists and Hindus). She is represented with a goat and a lion under her left and right foot respectively. (Plate No. 36).

Two hundred cubits away from this place is lying an oval stone which the people called *Khud Putuli*. Tradition says that Bhīma pressed his knees on this stone, the impressions being still quite visible on it. Ruins of three brick-built temples may be found at three different places of Ghāṭṣilā.

Quarter of a mile to the south-east of Ghāṭṣilā there stands a hillock named Haldighāṭā. According to tradition, Sītā stopped here for sometime during her exile and grounded turmeric for cooking purposes at a particular spot: hence its name Haldighāṭā. People point out the foot-prints of Sītā and also an old stone-made house on the hill in which she is said to have been delivered of her two sons. Besides, there are two caves here called Dharmadvāra (the gate of virtue) and Pāpadvāra (the gate of vice). Traces of turmeric powder are shown on a stone which when struck, gives forth a metallic sound, like that of a ghaṇṭā or bell.

BADA BELĀKUṬĪ.

TWENTY-TWO miles from Bāripadā and seven from Baḍsāi is Baḍa Belākuṭī; the ruins of an old fort and a rampart may be seen in the northern part of this village. On the west of the fort is a Āiva-Liṅga 2½ ft. high, called Āitaleṣvara. It has no Gaurīpaṭṭa. Several stone images of gods and goddesses are found in a hut situated in front of this Āitaleṣvara-Liṅga. One of them is Daṣabhuṣā Mahiṣamardini, known among the common people by the name of Budhār-chaṇḍī (or Buddhist Chaṇḍī). On the left is the figure of Chaturbhuṣa Viṣṇu. By the side of the latter is the image of a two-armed goddess, known as Kaṇaka-Durgā. These images are covered over with a thick coating of vermilion. In the western part of the village there is an old Āiva-Liṅga called Lokanātha. It has a Gaurīpaṭṭa. The puṣā of these deities is performed by the Āygirasa Brāhmaṇas.

Besides the four images already named there is a Liṅga 6 inches high. It is known as "Harihara-Liṅga." In addition to these there are several other village deities, called Kālikā, Jamunāṣani, Bāṣulī, Lāl Bajāranī and Thānamātā respectively.

The Dehuris of this place belong to the Amāt caste. Besides the one already mentioned, we find another old Āiva-Liṅga in a hut by the side of this village. The daily worship of this

linga is performed by a Brāhmana. It was enshrined in an old temple, fragments of stone once forming part of which are found scattered here and there.

Several pieces of stones of the shape of a *Chaitya* lie scattered at the extremity of the village. These are called Bhīma-kāṇḍ by the common folk.

KÖISĀRI.

ABOUT twenty-eight miles from Bārīpadā is Kōisārī. This village was known as Vairāṭapura, being the capital of the Vairāṭa kings. The ruins of this ancient capital are still known as Kōisārī-gaḍa. The river Devanadī flows north and east of Kōisārī-gaḍa; to the south-east runs the river Sona and on the west extends a moat. The two rivers meet at the entrance of this old fort. Amidst the ruins of the latter, people point out the remains of the ancient Kutchery, the palace and houses of the Babuāns and the temples of Čiva and Kanaka-Durgā. Sarveçvara Māndhātā, the Rājā of Kōisārī, was defeated by Rājā Jadunātha Bhañja and the fort was demolished. From that time the glory of the ancient royal family has vanished. Some members of this family took refuge in Koptipādā and others in Nilgiri. Two Babuān families of the Vairāṭa-bhujanga dynasty still live at Kōisārī. Although reduced to poverty, they pride themselves on being Bhujanga Kṣatriyas. According to a member of this royal family, who is 90 years old, the descendants of the eldest son Nanu Shāh reigned at Kōisārī, those of the second son at Nilgiri, and those of the youngest son, Kanushāh, at Koptipādā. This partition of the province took place during the time of Vasanta Vairāṭa. Before this the whole area from Kōisārī or Vairāṭapur to Nilagaḍa (modern Nilgiri) was under the sway of one Rājā. The stone image of Budhār Chaṇḍī, installed by Vasanta Vairāṭa, still exists in Sujnāgaḍa, the

old capital of Nilgiri. The Kanaka-Durgā of Kōisārī was brought to Bāripadā during the time of Rājā Jadunātha Bhañja. Among the ruins of Kōisārī we noticed a broken image of Māyūrī.

Outside the fort are large images of a four-armed Īiva and Gaurī holding each other in loving embrace; and by their side under a tree stands the strange figure of a four-armed god decked with ornaments. At first sight it seems to be a Nāga-Kanyā. But a Nāga-Kanyā has only two arms, whereas this has four. The local people call it Ekapāda Bhairava, while the old men of the Bhujayga family declare the images to be older than Kōisārīgaḍa. The two were discovered underneath the soil, at the time when the descendants of Nanushāh came here and dug up the ground for the purpose of erecting the fort. It may thus be easily inferred that these images are more than a thousand years old. That of Hara-Gaurī resembles in appearance the Scythian images of the first and second centuries B. C. The two must have been constructed here by one of the Scythian kings during the time of their ascendancy. Beyond the limits of the village, by the side of an old gun under a big Aṣvattha tree (*ficus religiosa*) there is the image of a two-armed goddess with the hoods of seven serpents over her head. It is called Koṭāsani by the common folk. She was the presiding deity of the Vairāṭa-bhujayga dynasty. (Plate No. 13). A brick-built temple formerly existed on the site where the goddess now stands. Ruins of the temple are found scattered round the image. The place, which was once the capital of the Vairāṭas and the abode of thousands, is now reduced to a desolate tract. It is inhabited by two families of Bhujayga Kṣatriyas, two of

Khandāits, and one each of Dhobis, weavers, Bāriks, Gūḍiās, Mahāntis, Vaidya Joṣis and Bhumiyās. The Bhumiyās are the present *Dehuris* or priests of the village deities here.

PURĀDIHĀ.

ABOUT 12 miles to the South-east of Kōisārī and 40 to the South-east of Bāripadā, stands the village Purāḍihā at the foot of a hill called Pāṭamuṇḍī. Here, on every side we find objects recalling the past glories of Vairāṭa kings. People of all ranks here are keenly alive to the memory of the Vairāṭa Bhujangas. According to the Sardārs and the gentry of this village, Vairāṭapur is near Kōisārīgaḍa. West of Kuṭing within Tāldihā is Prthvīmānikinī (known as the top of Āmīvrkṣa). North of Aṭuādaha and adjoining a hill near Deva-Kuṇḍa and Godhana Khoār is the site of Vairāṭa Pāṭa-ṭhākuraṇī. By the side of Bhīma-Khaṇḍa (the cook-room of Bhīma) is Junāpār the Peḍhī of the Vairāṭas; above it is the red horse of the Vairāṭas. Bhīma-Jagatī (the seat of Bhīma) lies on the south of Deva-Kuṇḍa. On the north of Deva-Kuṇḍa there is a cannon of 5×2 cubits. East of Devanadī and Aṭuādaha is Paṭādara. In the suburbs of Tāldihā, Godhana Khoār extends over about a square mile. Jungles and high mounds of earth, are seen on all sides. The Pāṭa-Devī of the Vairāṭa Rājās was in the Pāṭamuṇḍī hill, and they had a fort in Dubigaḍa. The original image of the Pāṭa-Devī is now preserved in the house of the Sarbarāhkar of Koptipādā. The image looks like a *Damuru*; it is of crystal with a Nāga within it.

Two miles to the north of Purāḍihā is the Pāṭamuṇḍī hill. Tradition says that the king

Vairāṭa carried Pāṭa-Devī (titular goddess) on his own head and set it up there, hence the name Pāṭamunḍī. Though the old image has been brought to Koptipādā, a stone image like that of a serpent with uplifted hood exists in the hill, and this is known as Kinchaka Nāga. The hill is about 500 cubits high from the ground. A glance at the south-western part of the peak makes it appear as if a wall has been hewn out of stone. (Plate No. 70a). On the other side are visible traces of a room built of stone. At one time there were caves here, adapted for the residence of recluses. These are all now in ruins. Purāḍibā is now the abode of Brāhmāṇas, Khandāits, Gauḍas, Bāthuris, Uriyās, Khandabāls, Sāntis, Santāls, Kolas, Pānas, Domas, Telis, Kāmārs, Jāruās, Kumbhārs, Bāriks, Dhobis, Tāntis and Paṭhāns. Of these the Brāhmāṇas are the most numerous, there being about 10 families of them.



70A.

The Patamundi Rock.

ÇAMIVRKṢA.

Two miles to the south of Purāḍihā may be seen the peak of a hill known among educated Hindus as Çamivrkṣa. According to the old Santāls, its name is Çyāmārk, and as such it appears in the Government Survey Map. The hill is about 500 feet high. On the western side of the hill there are *gumphās* (caves) which from a distance look like small rooms. Tradition says that the five Pāṇḍavas hid their arms in these five caves before proceeding to the court of the king of Virāṭa. On the *Trayodaçī Tithi*, that is, the Vāruṇī day in the month of Chaitra, water runs down the eastern side of the hill. The common folk of the place believe that this flow of water which continues for seven days, descends from the hair (Jaṭā) of Çiva's head. Attracted by the sanctity of the water, people gather here from distant places and hold a *melā*. It is worthy of note that there is no lake or water-course on the top of the hill. On the *Makara-Sankrānti* day another *melā* is also held, when two to three thousand pilgrims assemble and the common folk of the place sing and dance on the northern part of the hill. That portion is commonly called *Nāṭa-mandira* (or dancing-hall). There might have been a Nāṭamaṇḍira here in former times. When this Çamivrkṣa is seen from a distance, it looks like the Linga figure of Bhāskareçvara at Bhuvaneçvara. (Plate No. 70b). It is our belief that Çyāmārka is the ancient name of Çamivrkṣa. This place was known as Çyāmārka by the Çauras

(sun-worshippers) and was regarded by them in the same light as *Konārka*, *Lolārka*, *Varunārka*, and other central places of Çaura worship. The festival which formerly used to be held here on the *Makara-Sankrānti* day has now degenerated into simple *Jātrā*. The gumphās referred to above formerly gave shelter to many recluses. With the spread of the influence of Vāirāṭa kings Çyāmārka came to be known among the Hindus as Çamīvrkṣa and the story of the concealment of the bows and arrows by the Pāṇḍavas in the caves probably became current at this time. We learn from the *Mahābhārata* that the five Pāṇḍavas kept their bows and arrows in the holes of trees and not in the caves of any hill. Besides, the Çamīvrkṣa mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* was in the kingdom of Virāṭa. Virāṭa or Matsya is identical with modern Jaypur in Rājputana. We have discussed this matter exhaustively elsewhere.* The village Kuliluma lies to the south of this Çamīvrkṣa. The river Kuçabhadṛā, which flows near by, gets water all the year round and falls into the Sona. At the foot of the hill is a monastery of a Bābāji where the Bhāgavata and other religious books are worshipped.

* See Introduction—On Vairata Bhujangas.



Camivriksa near Parādīha.

KUṬING OR KOṬILINGA.

KUṬING or Koṭilinga is a very ancient and romantic place. It is situated at a distance of about thirty-two miles from Bāripadā, being surrounded on all sides by hills. No Hindu inhabitants now live in this lonely place. The ruins of many ancient temples and several Īiva-Liṅgas are found in various spots. It is said that the name Koṭi-Liṅga (of which Kuṭing is a contraction) originated from the circumstance of a countless number of Īiva-Liṅgas having been found here. On three sides of the village flows the river Deva-nadī, while on the fourth is a fort near which the rivers Sona and Deva-nadī meet. We are sure excavations here will yield results of great archæological interest. At a distance of four miles to the west of this place there is a hill with a crescent-shaped top. People call it Pṛthvī-Mānikinī. A little to the west lie the vast ruins of Pāthuriāgaḍa adjoining an extensive forest called Baḍa-Kāmān. This forest was at one time thickly populated.

Koṭilinga or Kuṭing, Pṛthvī-Mānikinī and Baḍa-Kāmān call up associations of a glorious past. According to the local Hindus, Pṛthī-Mānikinī is only a part of a hill called Āmī-vṛkṣa. But according to the Bhumiās and Bāthuris of this place it is the memorial of a certain queen who lived in Pāthuriāgaḍa and Baḍa-Kāmān forest.

PĀTHURIĀGAḌA.

Two miles to the west of Koṭilinga, there is a place called Pāthuriāgaḍa. It is bounded on the west by the river Deva-nadī, on the east by a canal called Raktiānālā, on the south by another canal called Bharbharianālā and on the north by a vast moat. The place is surrounded on all sides by stone walls, which probably accounts for its being named Pāthuriāgaḍa. A large and spacious flight of stone steps may still be seen on the bank of Deva-nadī. But on the opposite side of the river no trace of Pāthuriāgaḍa is to be found. Extensive ruins of brick-built walls are still visible on all sides. The foundation of the wall is about 5 cubits wide. The bricks found here are eighteen inches by eight, with a depth of three inches. In days gone by many powerful kings reigned here; mounds of old brick *débris* are found in many places round this fort, while in course of excavation a crucible for melting gold was discovered here.

ITĀGAḌA.

THE thick jungle known as Baḍa-Kāmān lies to the west of Pāthuriā-gāḍa. Ruins of a large brick-built fort called Itāgaḍa are to be found in this jungle. The walls still exist of the old castle which was built entirely of large bricks. The foundation of the brick-wall is about 5 cubits wide. The bricks are of the same size as those of Pāthuriāgaḍa. On one side of the ruins is Beguniāpāṭā and on the other Gaḍiaghaṣā nālā, while on the other two sides extends a range of high hills.

Indeed, the interior of the fort is so thickly covered with jungle that rays of the midday sun cannot penetrate it. Two miles to the north of Itāgaḍa, on a high hill, stands Dubigaḍa, once the capital of Vairāṭa kings. Itāgaḍa was their permanent capital, but in times of trouble and danger the kings with their families used to take shelter at Dubigaḍa. It is said that formerly cannon and cannon-balls were manufactured at Itāgaḍa. Dross of iron is still found scattered about in large quantities to the north of the ruins towards Dubigaḍa. At a little distance from Itāgaḍa at the foot of the hills there is a smooth broken Ḍiva-Liṅga and close to it a fine stone statue of a bull, unfortunately broken. Heaps of bricks are found strewn about. They doubtless represent a Ḍiva temple which has fallen into ruins. As we proceed northwards beyond the figure of the bull, dross of iron comes to

view. Here, in a big hole, we found a crucible in which it is not unlikely people used to melt iron for manufacturing implements of war. It even seems probable that there was formerly a factory for manufacture of weapons here. The place is now known as Rāikālīā. Broken pieces of earthen vessels, which were used in ancient times, have also been found within this dense forest.

Herds of wild elephants still come to Pā-thuriāgaḍa and Itāgaḍa. Their foot-prints may be seen in many places. The place also abounds with tigers and bears.

DUBIGAḌA.

THREE miles to the north-east of Purāḍihā, at an elevation of two miles from the plain, is the Ḍubigaḍa hill. The geographical position is of some importance, for having been situated on a high plateau, it once occupied an advantageous position over the surrounding country and commanded an uninterrupted view of the country around. There is no fort now on this hill, but there are sufficient traces left to show that at one time an inaccessible hill-fort did exist. There is only one narrow path up this hill, by which a single person can go at a time. The path is so very risky that if anybody were accidentally to lose his footing, he would be sure to meet with a fatal fall of a thousand feet. A transparent lake is found on the Ḍubigaḍa hill. It is said that one of the Vairāṭa kings, having lost his kingdom through treachery, drowned himself in this lake, hence the name Ḍubigaḍa, the word Ḍubi signifies drowning. Ḍubigaḍa has now become a dreadful place, being the haunt of wild elephants and tigers. Every evening these wild beasts come here to drink water. Ruins of several stone-built chambers are found near the lake.

CHŪḌADHĀRA.

FOUR miles from Ḍubigaḍa and at a level of 1000 feet higher than Ḍubigaḍa, is situated the cave of Chūḍādhāra. The path to Chūḍādhāra lies through the pass of Ḍubigaḍa. It is a large rock-hewn cave where, it is said, many Rīṣis used to stay. Although some portion of the cave has been destroyed, yet it will easily admit of about forty persons lying abreast in it. During the rains, hill men take shelter here. A stream flows by the side of this cave, and a current of water runs through it throughout the year.

SIDDHAGUHĀ.

SIDDHAGUHA stands on a hill named Sindūr-muṇḍi, eight miles from the rest-house of Udalā and four from the village Khalāri. This cave, which has been hewn out of the rocks of Sindūr-muṇḍi, was formerly the abode of many Siddha Puruṣas (saints).

PEDAGADHI.

Six miles from Purāḍihā and four from Udalā, is the village Pedāgadhi. It appears to be a very ancient and important village. The place is famous for the temples of Nṛsimha and Jhāḍeçvara Mahādeva. That of Nṛsimheçvara is known to be the work of Nṛsimha Deva, the king of Utkala, whose identity has not been established. But after careful survey of the ruins of the ancient temple, one would be inclined to assign it to the 12th or 13th century of the Christian era. The temple of Jhāḍeçvara appears to be older than the other. The image itself is now kept in a newly erected hut. The ruins of the original temple lie scattered about. It was built entirely of *mākrā* stone, and in workmanship closely resembled the Pāçachandī temple of Baḍasāi. By the side of the temple there is an old and large tank, the *ghāṭa* of which was made of fine pieces of stone although the greater part of it has been destroyed. We learn that in the forest adjoining this village, there is a temple of old Bhīmā or Bhīmeçvarī Devī. Here several respectable Brāhmaṇa families and a considerable number of Karmakārs, Santāls and Bhumiyās live. At one time light arms of excellent quality were manufactured here.

The village was also a centre of Sanskrit learning. More than a hundred years ago two distinguished scholars, whose names are familiar

in the country, lived in this village. They were Vāsudeva Tripāthī and Dāṣarathī Miṣra.*

* We have come across the MS. of a work on Smṛiti entitled प्रायश्चित्तविलोचनम् by Vāsudeva Tripāthī, copied by Dāṣarathī Miṣra, the colophon of which runs as follows—

“वेदर्त्तांशजवक्तृचन्द्रकमि ते शाकेऽस्त्रके वासरे
मूर्धस्यायनपक्षके शिवतिथौ मासे स्रगाधौश्वरे ।
श्रीनारायनसूनु दाशरथिना पेडागड़ियामगे
प्रायश्चित्तविलोचनं विलिखितं श्रीगुण्डीचामण्डपे ॥
शकाब्द १६६५ ॥ * * *

यद्यव चेतो विदुषां रतं स्यात्तदा व्यवस्था मुक्तरा भवेत् सा ।
मन्वादिशास्त्राकलनेन यासीत् सुदुक्करा पण्डितमण्डलीनाम् ॥
इदमेव समालोच्य प्रायश्चित्तविलोचनम् ।
कतिना वासुदेवेन रचितं श्रुतिसम्मतम् ॥”

The MS. is in Bengali characters, a fact which indicates that more than a hundred years ago, the learned Brāhmanas of Maynārabhanja used to write their works in the Bengali character.

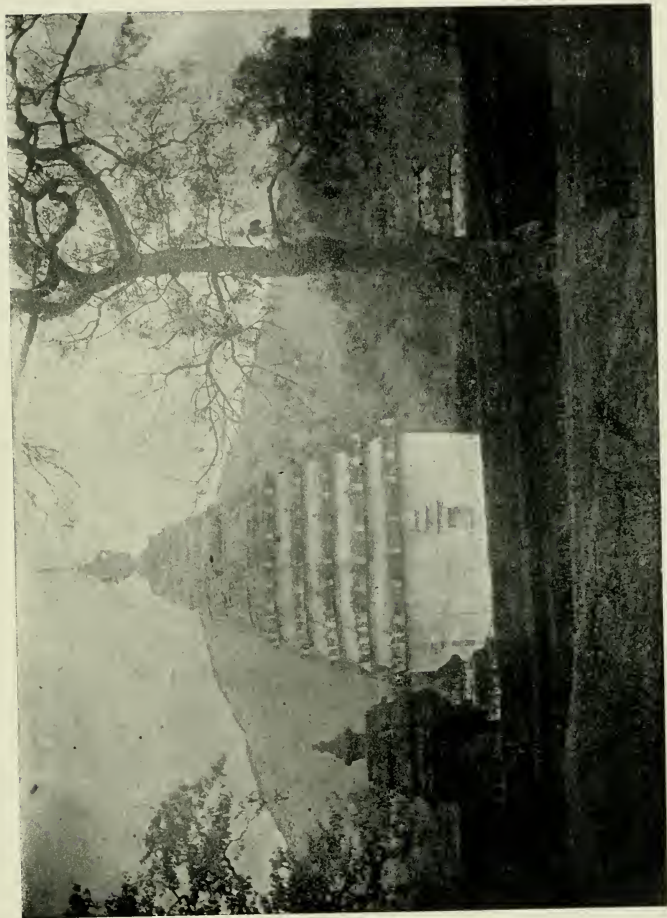
AYODHYĀ.

AYODHYA is a very ancient village ; it is situated at a distance of six miles from the capital of the Nilgiri State. This was once the capital of the Vairāṭa-rājās. Both the Hindus and the Buddhists looked upon it as a sacred place from very early times. The River Ghargharā flows to the east and the south, the Sona (Suvarna) to the north and the Sindhu, to the west of this village. It is called Ayodhyā, because the Ghargharā flows by its side just as a river of the same name flows by of Ayodhyā, the celebrated capital of the kings of the solar dynasty. It is known among the local Brāhmaṇa Pāṇḍās as Pañchakroṣi Ksetra (a sacred place extending over 10 miles). One is filled with wonder at the sight of the various relics of this ancient spot. According to the old Brāhmaṇas of Ayodhyā, there was no place in the whole of Orissa so rich in ancient monuments, temples, and images except it be Bhuvaneṣvara. In fact, ruins of more than 100 temples are still found strewn all over the place. In the northern part of Ayodhyā stands the temple of Uttareṣvara Mahādeva. This is not very old ; its Kurumberā (enclosure) which, however, appears more ancient than the temple itself, still exists. To the south ruins of a very ancient fort are seen. Tradition says that the Kāṇḍadhārī troops of the local Rājās used to protect it ; hence the mound is called Kāṇḍadhārī. People point to a spot on

the south of this mound as the site of Gaḍachandī and on the west as that of the Sannyāsipadā. It is probable that on the place being excavated various ancient relics will come to light.

In the temple of Uttareṣvara there is an old Liṅga with the image of a Buddhist goddess by its side. It has four faces and eight arms, and the deity is commonly known as Thākuraṇī, but the figure is undoubtedly of the great Vajratārā of the early Tāntrika Buddhists. (Plate No. 45). In addition there is a small image of a deity measuring half a cubit, seated on the lap of another. The image is believed to be that of Sāvitrī-Satyavāna. They are not correct representations. The image has a serpent with uplifted hood on the right, and on the left two small figures of unknown gods. The figure is that of Siddhārtha on the lap of Gautamī. (Plate No. 25).

The Kurumbera of Uttareṣvara, which was buried in the earth has recently been brought to light. The present temple was raised some 50 years ago on the foundation of an older one. At its east gate are some remnants of ancient architectural workmanship. The Khūṭia temple was erected by Bhanu Khūṭia for enshrining an old Īiva-liṅga after its old temple had tumbled down. The Khūṭiā temple, though recent, is the most important of all those to be found in this place, and soon attracted the visitor's notice. To the east, west and south of this Īiva temple there are others in which are enshrined the images of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa, Viṣṇu, Avalokiteṣvara, Sūrya, Trimūrti, Mārīchi Thākuraṇī, Manjuṣrī &c. There is another of Amitābha Buddha on the left side wall of the room where Mārīchi Thākuraṇī is kept. Mārīchi is a grim-looking



Temple of Uttaregvara at Agodhpur.



goddess and is regarded as the presiding deity of Ayodhyā. She has eight arms and three faces, one of which is shaped like that of a Varāha (boar). Below the Pādapīṭha there are eight figures of boars. Including the throne, the height is 4 cubits, the main figure being $2\frac{1}{2}$ cubits; while on either side of the head of the figure, may be read an inscription running from right to left, *viz.*, “Ye dharmahetuprabhavā &c.”—the well known formula of Buddhism in characters prevalent in the 10th or 11th century A. D.

It runs thus :—

Right side.

Left side.

- | | | |
|-------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| L. 1. | ओं ये धर्मा हेतुप्रभवः | हेतु स्तृषान्तयागतो |
| L. 2. | ह्यवदत्तं वा च यो | निरोधो एवं वादी श्रीमहा |
| L. 3. | श्रवण* | |

“Of those things (conditions) which arise from a cause. That cause has been told by Tathāgata and the way how to suppress them has also been revealed by the Great Ćramaṇa.”

The temple in which Mārichi Thākuraṇī is now placed, was erected by Bhānu Khunṭiā 50 years ago; in front of it ruins of an old Kurumberā and Ćiva temple are found. Mārichi and the two other images alongside were not originally where they now are. The ruins of the old temple of Mārichi Thākuraṇī are at a distance of half a mile to the west of a place called Kāṇḍabhāri. The images were recovered from these ruins and placed where they now stand. Heaps of stones, Amalāçilā, and broken

* Read श्रमण :

columns of granite, lie scattered on all sides. Travellers who have seen the columns of Buddhist Vihāras amidst the ruins of ancient Nālandā or Rājagṛha will notice a striking resemblance between them and these beautiful stone columns. They are 16 feet long and 3 cubits wide. The large blocks of Amalā-stone lying here suggest that the original building of Mārīchi must have been very large. Stone ruins of more than a hundred ancient temples lie scattered on all sides of the old shrine of Mārīchi. Fifty years ago this place was covered with dense jungle. People used to call it "Marichi Naṭā", *i.e.*, the forest of Marichi. At that time only the head of the image was visible. When, afterwards, the whole image was dug out, they used to call it Marichi from the fact of its being found in the forest of that name. But such appears to be the real name of the goddess itself, as we find it so recorded in Sādhnamālā and other Buddhistic Tāntrika works.

It has been stated above that the well-known Buddhist formula is engraved in characters prevalent here in the 10th or 11th century of the Christian era. At that time Tāntrika Buddhism was powerful in Gauḍa, Vanga and Utkala. The figures of Mārīchi and other goddesses found here were worshipped by Tāntrika Buddhists. Though Tāntrika Buddhism was predominant, yet Çaiva and other cults also prevailed here. But the vast ruins of this place which extend over an area of 3 miles indicate, both in their architectural and sculptural designs, traces of the Tāntrika Buddhist influence. Small images of Hara and Pārvatī have also been discovered at the time of making excavations near "Marichi Naṭā"; from which it appears that Çaivaism became

prevalent here after the Tāntrika Buddhist period.

We are not aware whether such extensive Tāntrika Buddhistic relics are to be found anywhere else in Orissa. That a thorough and systematic exploration of the old ruins of Ayodhyā will bring to light many interesting facts and furnish ample material for the history of ancient Tāntrikism, admits of no doubt. During the Marāṭhā troubles all the old and respectable inhabitants of the place left it through fear. The total population may be estimated at 3000, and the number of families at 300. The latter have been settled here for half-a-dozen generations past, but apparently no further back.

PRATAPAGAḌA.

NORTH-WEST of Ayodhyā and half way between the Sindhu and the Sona are the ruins of a fort. It is called Pratāpapur or Pratāpagada.

PUNDAL.

AT a distance of two miles to the north-east of Ayodhyā is the village called Pundāl. Here once the image of an unknown god was recovered from the bed of the river Sona. Formerly, a temple stood on what is now the river-bed. The stones which once belonged to that temple are occasionally found in the sands of the Sona. The height of the image is 5 feet, and its width 3 feet. It has a *nagakundali* on its back, and seven serpents with uplifted hoods overhanging its head. It is known among the common folk as the image of Ananta. But it has no sacred thread. For this and other reasons, we may conclude that it is the image of the 23rd Jaina Tīrthajkara Parṣvanātha. From the existence of this image, one may reasonably infer that Jainism once prevailed here.

KANS OR KANISAHI.

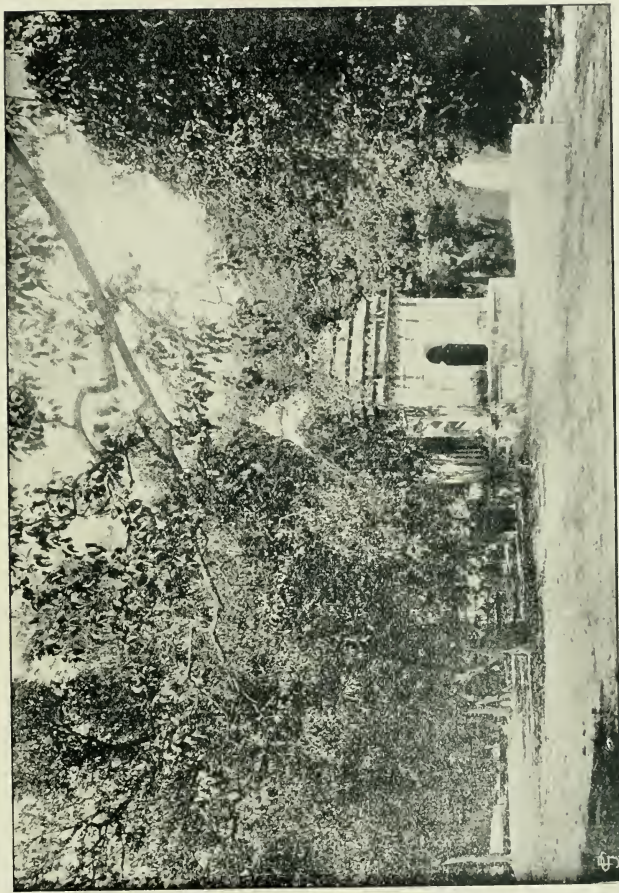
A mile and a half to the north of Ayodhyā lies a village called Kāns or Kānisāhi. It was formerly a suburb of Ayodhyā and contained one of the five forts appertaining to it. Remains of this fort can be seen in the northern part of the present village. Alongside of the fort there was at one time a beautiful Vāpī, the sides of which were of stone. The access to this Vāpī was through a tunnel on one side of which a big temple stood. Only some heaps of ruins are now to be found. There is an āmalaka in the midst of broken carved stones at this place. Its diameter is about five cubits. This proves that the temple was one of considerable dimensions. Images of Sūrya (Sun-god), of Vāsudeva, Varāha, Nṛsiṃha and Vāmana, also of eight-handed Gaṇeṣa, of two-handed Kārtika riding on a peacock, of six-handed, eight-handed and ten-handed Mahiṣamardini, of Siva-linga and its bull, as well as images of other unknown gods and goddesses are found strewn over the place. These statues on examination appear to be about six or seven centuries old. Some of them have been removed to the adjoining village of Ambikāpur or Ānikāpur and there set up for worship.

At some distance from the place where the above-mentioned images are lying scattered, is situated the Vairāṭapāṭa. There is a tradition to the effect that the place once formed the capital town of the Vairāṭa Rājās. Mounds indicating the site of a palace are still to be found here.

PURANGAO.

THREE miles to the north-west of Ayodhyā lies the village of Purāṅgāo. Its outward condition will justify the name it bears. The village is, in fact, an ancient one. It once had a large population, and contained objects of great interest. The Maṇināgeçvara Liṅga of the place is well-known in that part of the country. The original temple of Maṇināgeçvara Liṅga has now disappeared. Fifty years ago a new temple was built on the foundations of the ancient one. By the side of this temple is a very ancient Vāpī having a flight of twenty-two stone steps. There is a stone-built roof over this flight and a wall on either side. To the left of the twentieth step from above, and on the edge of the water, there is a cellar, in which probably the treasure of the god used to be concealed in ancient times. The portion of the Vāpī containing water is 6 feet by 6, the cellar being 4 feet by 5.

Besides the ancient Liṅga and its pedestal there is in this temple an image of Kurukullā measuring 3 feet by 2. This goddess is considered to be the Çakti of Maṇināgeçvara. She had formerly a separate temple in the village. Heaps of stones, which once belonged to this latter temple, may be seen scattered here and there.



Temple of Maninaga with ancient Vāpi at *Paránagdon*.

DOMA-GANDARA.

THERE is a very ancient place named Doma-gaṇḍarā on the northern bank of the river Sona, five miles to the east of Ayodhyā and close to the boundary-line between Mughal-bundi and Mayūra-bhañja. Sufficient evidence remains to show that in ancient times several temples stood here. Partly through the ravages of time and partly through the changes in the course of the river Sona, these sacred structures have been completely destroyed. Broken pieces of carved stone belonging to the temples have been used by many of the villagers in constructing the floors of the rooms of their houses. The house of the Sarbarāhkār of the place is entirely built with these stones.

On the northern outskirts of the village, under a Vāṭa tree on a high mound, is a large Gaurī-paṭṭa of a Īiva-Liṅga. It is 4 feet by 3. The presence of the Gaurī-paṭṭa proves that there was a large Īiva-liṅga as well as its temple here; the latter has been destroyed and a mound now marks the spot. Besides the Gaurī-paṭṭa there are to be seen the statues of a goddess with eighteen hands, of Gaṇeṣa with eight hands, of Agnideva (god of fire) and of Īākya-Simha on the lap of Gautamī, and also a broken image of the Jaina Tīrthaykara Pārçvanātha. Fragments of the stone images of many other gods and goddesses are also to be found lying scattered here and there. If the mound be

excavated, it is not improbable that many such images and ancient relics will be discovered.

At a little distance from the mound and under a tree near the river may be seen lying a large image of the goddess Vārāhī, 6 feet 6 inches in height and 3 feet in breadth. The stone out of which it has been carved is 2 feet thick. This and another smaller image of the goddess Vārāhī were discovered underground on the northern bank of the river Sona. The smaller one, which is 3 by $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet, was brought to the capital of Nīlgiri and kept there in front of the Dispensary. (Plate No. 31). The other was found to be too big to be conveniently removed and so was dragged to a little distance from where it was found to the spot where it still lies. So large an image of the goddess will scarcely be met with anywhere in Orissa.

From the various images mentioned above one is inclined to think that Buddhism, Jainism, Çaivism and Çāktaism were at one time all flourishing here together.

DHŪPASILĀ.

DHUPASILA is situated at a distance of three miles to the east of the capital of Nīlgiri. A glance at the place will convince one of its antiquity. There is here a small temple, within which there is a broken image of the goddess Mahattarī Tārā with two hands. The existence of this image proves that the place was once a resort of the Buddhists of Mahāyāna school.

SUJANĀGAḌA.

SUJANAGADA is situated at a distance of three miles to the west of the capital Nīlgiri. Before Çakatapālīā (the ancient name of the place) was made the capital of the Vairāta Rājās, Sujanāgaḍa was their chief town. On the site of the palace of these Rajas extensive mounds and traces of stone are now to be found. A little way off, stands the stone-built temple of Budhār Chaṇḍī, the tutelary goddess of the Nīlgiri Rāj. This temple, which is about 40 feet high, has not been altogether destroyed. Its repairs were undertaken by the father of

the present Mahārāja. It consists of four parts, viz., the garbha-gr̥ha, the Jagamohan, the Bhogamandapa and the Nāṭamandira. The temple may not display any high order of architectural excellence, but its antiquity is undoubted. It is a matter of great regret that the inscriptions which existed above the doorways of the Garbha-gr̥ha, the Jagamohan and the Nāṭamandira of the temple have been completely effaced during the repairs, its ancient artistic design having also been lost at that time. The architect who undertook the work of restoration, being completely ignorant of the value of these inscriptions, had them obliterated. A copper-plate and a sword were found at the time of the repairs. The residents believe that these two objects have been walled up on the top of the temple. The image of Budhār Chaṇḍī is not now in its proper place—the garbhagr̥ha. The goddess is kept in a small room by the side of the Nāṭamandira, together with the images of Kanaka-Durgā and other gods and goddesses. Budhār Chaṇḍī is, in reality, the goddess Mārīchī of the Buddhist Tāntrikas. That the Rājās of Nīlgiri were formerly Buddhists is evident from the fact that Budhār-Chaṇḍī was worshipped by them as their tutelary goddess. There is a tradition here that before they came to Sujanāgaḍa, the Vairāṭa Rājās resided at a place called Gaḍgaḍiā, ten miles from Nīlgiri. The ruins of the ancient fort of that place still exist.

BALASORE.

THERE are many objects of great antiquarian importance in the present district of Balasore. The following interesting places and objects are mentioned at pages 482 to 484 of the "List of Ancient Monuments in Bengal" (published by authority) :—

1. In Sholampur, opposite Jaipur—The remains of an old brickfort said to have been built under the orders of Kapilendra Deva (1434-1469 A.D.)
2. In Balasore town—Kadam Rasul Mosque (said to have been erected by order of the Emperor Aurangzeb).
3. Do. Juma Mosque Do.
4. Do. Maratha bridge.
5. In Kupari,—Stone Temple (with Kripacharya's *Homakunda*).
6. In Jellasure,—The remains of an old fort (built by the Bhuiya Chief of the place).
7. Do. Mosque (said to have been built by a Nawab in the 16th century).

There are, besides the above, many objects of antiquarian interest. We had an opportunity of inspecting some of those situated near Mayūrabhañja. A short description of them is given below.

The following are the objects of interest in the old and new towns of Balasore :—

In the old town of Balasore.—The ancient temple of Bāṇeçvara Çiva. A tradition is current that the kingdom of Bāṇāsura was situated here. He was an worshipper of five Liṅgas. The names of the latter are Bāṇeçvara, Gargeçvara, Kharjureçvara, Pañchaliṅgeçvara and Maṇināgeçvara. These five Liṅgas are enshrined in the following places :—

1. Bāṇeçvara in the old town of Balasore.
2. Gargeçvara at Mouza Puruṣottampur in Parganā Remuṇā.
3. Kharjureçvara at Mouza Tilā in Parganā Khajurā.
4. Pañchaliṅgeçvara in the Nilgiri State.
5. Maṇināgeçvara at Kasbā Jayadeva by the side of Bardhanpur in Parganā Daçamalauṅ.

In course of my survey I visited only Bāṇeçvara and Maṇināgeçvara.

According to tradition, Bāṇa Rājā had his capital somewhere near the old town of Balasore. The Liṅga was held in the greatest reverence and named Bāṇeçvara after him. People consider this Bāṇa Rājā to be identical with Bāṇāsura mentioned in the Purāṇas. He may, however, be considered a Çaiva king. There was, in Deccan, a dynasty of Bāṇa Rājā. The earliest records left of this dynasty are some inscriptions, belonging to the tenth century of the Christian era. Kings of this dynasty waged war against the Chola and Gaṅga Rājās. Parāntaka Chola conquered the kingdom of Bāṇa and gave it to Pṛthivīpati the second of the Gaṅga

dynasty.* The descendants of Bāṇa Vidyādhara reigned for some generations. The title Āditya appears to have been used by some of the kings of this dynasty.† The people of Maṇināgeṣvara speak of two kings of the line named Jayāditya Deva and Vikramāditya. The place where the temple of Maṇināgeṣvara is situated is still called after them “Vikrama kasbā” and “Jayadeva kasbā.”

The ancient Īvaite temples of Bāṇeṣvara were most probably built under the orders and supervision of the kings of the Bāṇa dynasty. As in the Deccan, the Gaṅga kings conquered the kingdom of the Bāṇa Rājās, so it is probable, that here too the ascendancy of the Bāṇa Rājās passed away with the rise of the Gaṅga dynasty. The temple of Bāṇeṣvara is situated on the eastern boundary of the town of Balasore and alongside Farāṣḍāṅgā. Bāṇeṣvara Liṅga and its pedestal are very ancient. The ancient temple was destroyed long ago ; and the present temple, which was built on the foundations of the former, is not very old. Besides the Bāṇeṣvara Liṅga, there is an Anādi Liṅga in the town of Balasore called Jhāḍeṣvara. According to local tradition, the liṅga first came to be discovered on pursuing a cow who of her own accord used to stop where the sacred stone lay and pour her milk on it. A similar story, we know, is told in regard to the Tārakeṣvara Liṅga of Bengal. A temple was built for Jhāḍeṣvara Liṅga in ancient times, but has now disappeared. A wonderful phenomenon is to be seen here : when any milk is poured over the Liṅga, it becomes as clear as water.

* Epigraphia Indica. Vol. III, pp. 112.

† Indian Antiquary, Vol. XV, p. 172.

The images of Hara-Gaurī and Yamarāja and also the figure of a dancing-girl are to be seen lying at the foot of a tree in Mānikham, old Balasore. This figure of the dancing-girl must have belonged to some temple. Its workmanship is very fine. (See Plate No. 74). No trace whatever of any ancient temple is now to be found here.

In Mouzā Ćyāmānandapur, Parganā Sunāhāṭa, in the town of Balasore, there is a big *stūpa* called 'Uṣā-meḍha.' There is also a tradition that Uṣā, the daughter of Bāṇa Rājā, was united in marriage with Aniruddha on this spot. Another object of interest in the town is the tank named Killā-pukhur. Formerly there was a big fort here belonging to the Muhammadans, within which was situated a tank. Four sides of the latter are constructed with stone. There is a 'hāmām' or bath near it surrounded by high walls. Formerly there was, within this walled enclosure, a beautiful fountain which was connected with the tank. Traces of these are still to be found. There are four reservoirs of water here, also connected with the tank. Tradition has it that this bath was constructed under the orders of the Muhammadan Subāhdār Taki Khān for the use of the ladies of his harem.



No. 74.

The old Dutch cemetery of Balasore is another place of interest. At the time when this was a Dutch settlement many notable Dutch factors or officials were interred here.

BHIMAPUR.

THERE is a very ancient and large village called Bhīmapur on the sea-shore at a distance of eight miles to the south-east of Balasore. In a jungle by the side of a high sand-bank on the shore, is a broken image of Bhīmā Devī, known to the people as Kālikā. Very likely the place has derived its name from that deity.

Formerly this village was granted to a Brāhmaṇa family who still reside here. There are many ancient tanks in various parts of the village. One of these was very large; it is now dried up, with a part of it under cultivation. Old residents recollect seeing in their youth the remnants of stone walls on two sides of the tank. These are now buried underground. Recently at the time of excavations in this village, a very beautiful life-sized image of Jaina Tīrthaykara Vardhamāna Svāmin was unearthed from the depth of three cubits. The statue is finely sculptured. The image has been removed by Rājā Baikunṭha Nāth De, zamindar of this place, and kept in the garden of his house at Balasore. Besides this, there is another beautiful image of Vardhamāna Svāmin in the middle of the village, and by its side are other stone images and also one of a Dhyānī Jina. The figure of Vardhamāna Svāmin is 2' 6" by 1'4". Strange to say, that this naked Jina image is, up to this

day, worshipped by the people of the village as Thākuraṇī. There is no lack of evidence to show that Jainism was at one time predominant here, and that its tutelary deity was Vardhamāna Svāmī. Just beside Bhīmapur is a very old village called Kasbā Bardhanpur. This name seems to be a corruption of the word Vardhamānapur, which is only another name of the last Tirthaṅkara Mahāvīra.

The Purāṇa-sāi or ancient site of Bhīmapur was abandoned long ago on account of floods from the sea. Under a big toddy-palm here, the figures of a four-handed goddess and a god are to be found half-buried in the earth. Many other images would probably be found if the place were excavated.

The above-mentioned image of Bhīmā Devī (known to the people as 'Kālikā') is situated on the seaside, at a distance of a mile from the present village. It is broken, but its very appearance shows how ancient it is. The goddess is eight-handed, and has round her neck a garland of skulls, and on her head a crown of matted hair. She is seated in a lotus on the prostrate body of Puruṣa. There is an elephant near the head of Puruṣa and another at his feet. This goddess is placed in an uncovered place on the seaside in a jungle, nevertheless people from very distant parts come to worship her. (Plate No. 29).

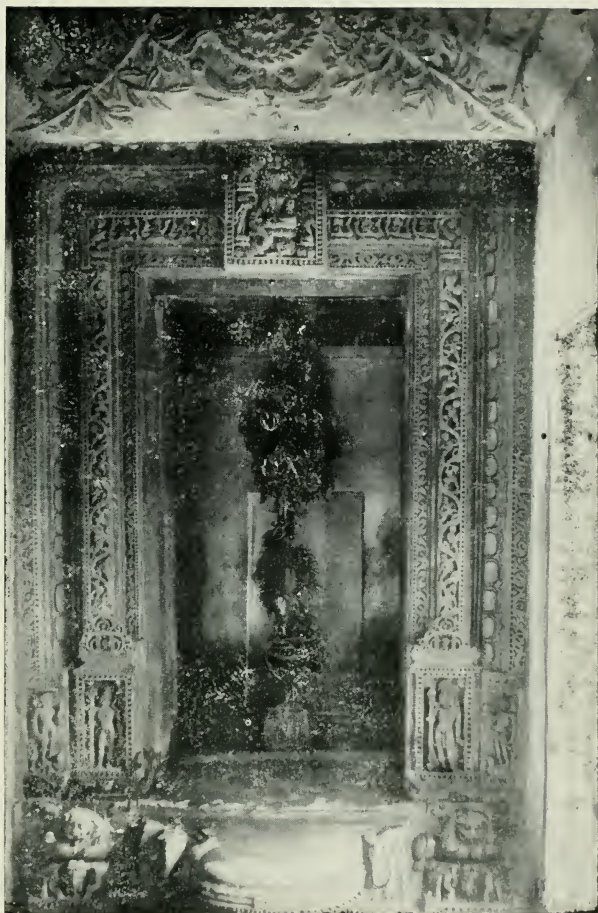
The villages Kasbā Bhīmapur, Kasbā Bardhanpur, Kasbā Jaydeb, Kasbā Bikrampur and Nij Kasbā are all contiguous to one another. From their names and position it seems that previously they together constituted one large

town. Big images of Avalokiteṣvara and Buddha in meditation have been found out in Kasbā. These have been brought to Balasore and kept in front of the Municipal Office there. On the bank of an ancient tank in village Kasbā there is a large wheel and near it a large broken image of Buddhistic Tārā, half buried in earth. The above mentioned Buddhistic remains indicate that the place was in some past age under the influence of the Mahāyāna School of Buddhism. Mounds of earth are seen here and there in the village. Kasbā was once the head quarters of the local Muhammadan Subāhdār. Shāhjahānagar, by the side of Bardhanpur, proclaims the name of Emperor Shāh Jahān.

MANINĀGEÇVARA.

THE temple of Maṇināgeçvara is situated on the east of Bardhanpur and on the north of Bhīmapur and four miles apart from it. It lies between the villages of Kasbā Jayadēb and Kasbā Bikrampur. People of this place believe that Maṇināgeçvara Liṅga was installed in this place by Bāṇāsura. The ancient temple of Maṇināgeçvara was destroyed by the Muhammadans. About sixty years ago, the late Babu Bhagavān Dās of Balasore, a zamindar of this place, had this temple repaired. Most part of the present temple is of recent origin. There are, nevertheless, ancient objects of interest in it. The doorway of the ancient temple displays remarkable sculptural skill and indicates the great architectural beauty which the temple possessed at one time. This doorway is made of granite. There is a figure of the goddess Kamalā or Gaja-Lakṣmī on its upper portion and that of two Dvārapālas (gatekeepers) on the lower portion. It is decorated all over with carved creepers and leaves of various kinds. We can well imagine from these relics how beautiful the original temple was. In a dark room of the temple there are broken images of eighteen-handed Durgā, eight-handed Durgā, four-handed Pārvatī, Kaumārī and of many other goddesses. There is a doorway on the western side of the court-yard. On the left portion of it there is a figure of Kṣetrapāla and on the right portion that of a four-handed Viṣṇu. Inside a niche on the southern wall of the temple there is an image of Gaṇeṣa, on the eastern





76. Doorway of Manināgeçvara Temple at *Manināgeçvara*.

wall an image of Kārtikeya and on the northern wall that of four-handed Gaurī with a lion under her feet. In the south-western portion of the court-yard there is an image of eight-handed Bhīmā. She has a club in a left hand and a drinking cup in a right hand. All the other hands are broken. There are some ancient images on the top of the temple also. Out-side the temple towards the north-west, there is the figure of a female votary on a large broken pillar. Besides these, there are two seats made of granite stone outside the temple. Their size is $3' \times 2' \times 1'$.

This temple is situated one mile away from the sea-shore. The beautiful and artistic images of this place bear a remarkable similarity with the ancient images of Hindu gods and goddesses discovered in Java. It is not improbable that the artists of Kalinga went from here to Java to make these images. The figure of Kamalā found on the coins of the Gupta Kings of Gauda is exactly similar to the one I have referred to above as having been found on the doorway to the temple. It is quite probable that this goddess was the tutelary deity of the Gupta kings and was therefore represented on their coins. The figure of this goddess has not been found upon the coins or insignia of any other royal family. From this fact one is inclined to conclude that the original temple of Maṇināgeçvara was built under orders of some Gupta king or of some Hindu chief under the suzerainty of the Gupta kings.

In Tikārāpārā, half a mile away from Maṇināgeçvara, there is a broken image of the goddess Tārā.

PĀNDAVA GHĀT.

THERE is an ancient sacred place named Pāṇḍava-ghāt, on the seaside, two and a half miles away from Bhīmapur. There is a tradition that the five Pāṇḍavas had been to this place and bathed in the sea here. In the Vayaparvan of the Mahābhārata also, we find that the five Pāṇḍavas came to Kaliṅga and enjoyed the sea-bath there. Until recently the people of this place used to show a big stone with the foot-prints of the Pāṇḍavas on it. That stone has now been buried under the sand on the sea-beach. Some time ago, the Jaina merchants used to come here to see and worship these foot-prints which they believed to be those of Jina. It seems from this that this place was an ancient sacred place of the Jainas also. There is a place called "Jāhāj-ghāṭā" by the local people, on the sea-shore not far off from Pāṇḍavaghāt. Ships used to anchor here from ancient times. In fact, in the good old days the people of this place used to travel by ships and very large boats. Their descendants have now degenerated into petty fishers earning their livelihood by catching fish from the sea by means of boats.

TUNDURĀ.

VILLAGE Tuṇḍurā is situated at a distance of one and a half miles from Bhīmāpur towards the south. There were many temples on the sea shore in this village. All of them have been washed away by the sea. Some of the images of gods and goddesses of those temples have been brought and placed in different parts of the village. One of these is an image of two-handed Bāsuli, which lies under a very old *Vata* tree, and another is that of Hanumān. Besides these, there are some other small images, lying about. The above-mentioned *Vata* tree appears to be three or four centuries old. Many images of gods and goddesses and carved stones are found stuck within the roots of this tree. In the northern part of the village, there is an image of a four-handed goddess, with a boy on her lap, her head being covered by the hoods of seven serpents. By the side of this, there is an image of Vāgīṣvari. These two images are so much worn out, that they are evidently at least a thousand years old. In this village we heard of the existence of many images of gods and of ruins of ancient temples on the sea shore in the southern part of the village and also in many other villages and in jungles on the sea shore.

Tuṇḍurā is now included in the Zamindari of the Rājā of Nilgiri. We have heard from the

lips of an old Brāhmaṇa of the place that in the remote past this part of the country was being ruled by a Brāhmaṇa family under the suzerainty of the Bhañja Rājās ; but the dynasty was extinct long ago. In the copper-plate of Vidyādhara Bhañja we have found mention made of Tuṇḍurāva as having been given away by him. It may not be far from the truth to imagine that the present village of Tuṇḍurā is one and the same with the Tuṇḍurā referred to in the plate.

MUGHALMĀRI.

About two miles to the north of Dantan are lying the extensive ruins of the once famous Mughalmāri; and in the north of the present village are to be found the remains of the gaḍa which bore its name. The natives point to this place as having been the site of the gaḍa which was built by the famous warrior Vikramajit. Originally this plot was one mile square, but it has now been converted into orchards and corn-fields save where the royal palace once reared its lofty head, and even here only doleful remains of its former glory do call forth a sigh and a tear from the spectator.

In the south of the village is the temple of the Chandaneṣvara Mahādeva. But the one that we now see, has, like the Phoenix, grown out of the ashes, as it were, of its former self. There is a tradition current here to this effect that this Chandaneṣvara is Svayambhū (self-evolved) liṅga and it was installed by the queen of Vikramajit. Daily she came here to worship this God, while her husband went daily to Dantan to offer his homage to the famous image of Ćyāmaleṣvara. At that time the principal gate of Mughalmāri was close to the Sāt-deul of Dāntan.

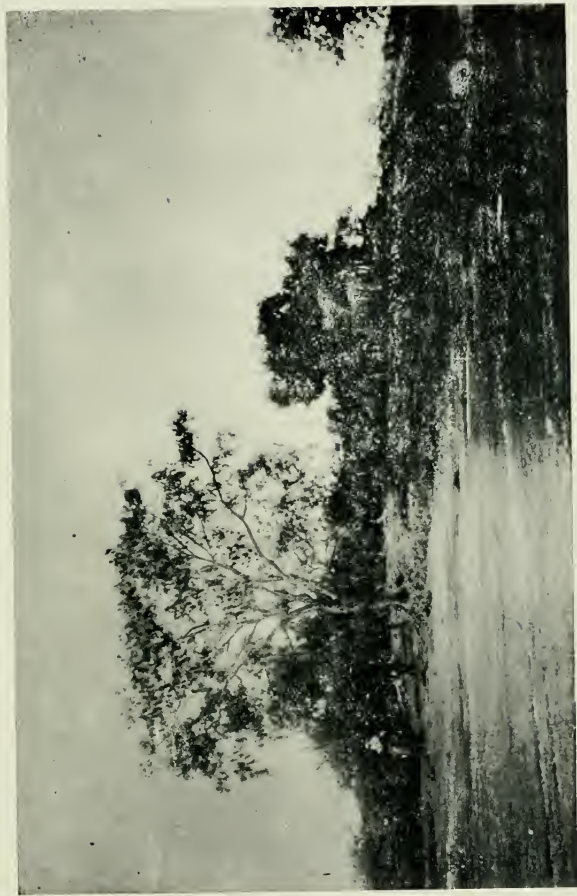
By the side of the entrance into Mughalmāri from the side of Dāntan is a mound generally called Pāṭhḱālā of Ćaṣisenā. Completely lost in ruins now, it was at one time a big structure of oblong shape, measuring 120 ft from east to west and 110 from north to south.

Hidden under its debris, and scattered all around are to be found heaps of large bricks; and elderly natives assert that formerly a much larger quantity of this material was lying about in heaps which the people of the adjacent villages have since utilized for their private purposes. Even now over and along the road, half a mile in length, which runs from the gaḍa of Çaçisenā to the ruins of the palace of Vikramajit in the heart of the village are to be found remnants of brick-built structures. These bricks are like thin tiles in construction and measure about 1' × 11" each.

The ruins of Çaçisenā are bounded in the east by the Puri Road, in the west by the Pālā Dīghi, in the south by the Dhāna Dīghi, and by the Baḍa Dīghi in the north. This place is pointed to by some as Çaçisenā's Pāṭhaçālā and by others as her gaḍa. To the south of these ruins was a beautiful 'Vāpi' the edges of which were built up in stone.

The story of Çaçisenā is almost universally known in this part of the country. She was the daughter of King Vikramajit, *alias* Pratāpāditya. A time was when her story was both told and listened to with great interest not in this part alone but throughout the length and breadth of West Bengal. The sweet and melodious song sung in her memory by the Vaidya poet Fakirārāma is now about 3 centuries old. It may not be out of place to tell the reader her story here as related by the poet:—

"She was the only daughter of King Vikramajit, who had one hundred wives, and was like the pupil of the eye not only of her father and mother but also of her step-mothers. There was a Pāṭhaçālā hard by the royal palace, and here



Ruins of Cakhsenâ-garh at *Mughalmâri*.

boys and girls were alike taught to read and write. The princess was a regular student of this school as was the Koṭwal's* son, Kumāra. The seat of the Princess was upon a dais as befitted her high rank, whilst the seat of Kumāra as of others was below her when they received lessons from the teacher. As luck would have it, one day the pencil dropped from her hand and at her request the Koṭwal's son picked it up for her. The next day also the very same thing transpired and ungrudgingly Kumāra delivered the pencil to her. This happened also the following morning and this time the Koṭwal's son showed some reluctance to do her bidding. The princess requested him more than once and at length Kumāra gave her to understand that he would pick up and hand over the pencil if she would thrice promise to give her hand to him. Taking it for a plain and simple joke, the princess agreed to this condition and pledged herself thrice to accept his terms. But when Kumāra afterwards explained the situation plainly and told her that she had promised to become his wife by the words pledged, the princess was taken aback and threatened to disclose the audacity of the son of her father's servant to her royal father. But the Koṭwal's son was not so easily to be put off. He began to argue his cause and remarked that it was very easy for a princess like her to violate her pledge regarding it as a light matter and even to carry out her threat of having him punished. But the violation of a plighted truth like the pledging of her hand by a woman was not a light matter. Such a pledge was a very sacred one and if she now broke it, she would be a fallen woman in

* Kotwal means Chief Police Officer.

the eyes of God and man and he supported himself by quoting ample authorities from the Çāstras. The simple girl was at her wit's end : but being a lover of truth and fearing the consequences that were sure to visit her were she to deviate from its path, she was compelled to carry into practice what she had said in joke. While taking leave of the Koṭwal's son after the school broke up, she advised him to wait for her after nightfall under a particular tree. Here she would come and then they would decamp to some distant place as marriage in the Palace was out of the question owing to the disparity in their respective ranks. Kumāra came and anxiously watched the minutes as they were flying. The princess also managed with great difficulty in joining with her husband at the appointed place. Two horses were kept ready for the journey ; and mounting them, the couple stole away under cover of the night.

“The course of true love never runs smooth”—this is true also of secret marriages. The couple rode on over hills and dales, throwing dust in the eyes of their parents, but the spirit of vengeance was hotly chasing them. At first they were overtaken, quite helpless, by a furious storm. Somehow or other they got out of it unscathed and continued their journey till at midday they reached what was known as ‘Tepāntara māṭha’ (a limitless and desolate tract of country) and were dying with thirst and hunger. Here there was a poor inn, at the door of which they alighted. Seeing them richly dressed and bedecked with jewellery, the inn-keeper was all attention to them and supplied them with pots, rice, fuel &c. This was the first time in her life that the princess was obliged to apply herself to cooking food. Terrible were her sufferings

from the voluminous smoke that was rising up in curls from the wet fuel when fire was applied to it. But all her troubles were for nothing. All of a sudden there came upon them seven ferocious dacoits. Leaving her culinary duty half done, the princess clung to the side of her husband and was trembling like an aspan leaf. The Koṭwal's son, however, was not the least daunted—he knew he was more than a match for them all. In the fight that ensued he successively killed six of the dacoits, and the remaining one fell prostrate at his feet and craved for mercy. Against the wishes of the princess her husband showed him quarters and the consequence was that when the couple were off their guard, the knave despatched the Koṭwal's son at a stroke. In this miserable plight what could the princess do but resign herself absolutely to the mercy of the Goddess Durgā! Now, it so happened that at that particular moment that goddess was passing through the sky with her husband Mahādeva. She was touched to the quick by the lamentations of the princess and persuaded her husband to restore Kumāra to life.

After this they moved off to the bank of the river Kājalā and leaving his wife here all alone, the Koṭwal's son went away to find a market where their necessaries could be procured. But there were more troubles in store for them. There was no market close by; at least Kumāra did not find any. But propelled by an unseen destiny, he moved on and on, till he was well out of the region where he had left his wife. Here there lived a flower-woman, generally known as Hīrā-mālīnī. Now, she had a flower garden, the trees and plants of which had not, for years past, given her any flowers. They were even shorn

of their leaves. But lo and behold ! no sooner had the Koṭwāl's son accidentally set his foot within the precincts of the neglected garden, than were all the trees in flowers and their sweet fragrance was wafted on the wings of the wind far and wide. Breathless in suspense, the mālinī ran out of her cottage and she was beside herself with astonishment and delight at her unexpected good fortune. After the first shock of surprise had spent itself, she set herself to find out the cause of this miracle. All of a sudden she came upon what seemed to her enraptured eyes a part of the moon dropped from the heavens. Tired and fatigued, the Koṭwāl's son had laid himself down at the foot of a tree and was enjoying a sound sleep. The dart of love shot through the heart of the elderly flower-woman and she bethought herself of possessing this young cupid for his personal charms as well as for the life-giving power that he seemed to possess.

Now, this mālinī was a wicked woman, conversant with many of the damned practices of witchcraft. She could transform a human being into the shape and form of any other creature and she now felt tempted to exercise this power upon the unfortunate young man. No sooner had she uttered her spell and sprinkled some water upon the sleeping Koṭwāl's son than he was metamorphosed into a lovely young goat but the heart within him remained the heart of a human being, and to add to his troubles, he also retained a full consciousness of his past life. The mālinī then took him home and at day time kept him concealed under the planks of her wooden floor but in the night she brought him out, gave him his human shape and tried to please him by all the means in her power.

There the unfortunate princess passed the whole day in extreme anxiety and grief at the non-appearance of her husband. Her condition may well be imagined than described. She was in the centre of a dense forest, all alone, out of which she knew not how to come. The day advanced, the day declined, the shades of evening fell—but her husband did not turn up. In addition to and far more distressing than the sense of her own insecurity was the uncertain dread as to what had befallen her husband. She was crying aloud bemoaning her lot. Now, it so happened that king Naradhvaja who had come out a-hunting to this forest, was passing hard by the place. He was attracted by the bewailings, directed his step in the direction and at length found himself in the presence of a matchless beauty in full bloom. It was evening, the wild birds were singing merrily, a mild and gentle breeze was flowing and the place was a lonely one, upon the bank of a gently murmuring river,—the king felt very amorously inclined. He made overtures of love to the princess, adding, as points deserving her consideration, that he was a very powerful king, had a lot of wives, but was ready and willing to make her the greatest and the most favoured queen if she would but marry him.

The princess was touched to the quick to hear these words fall from the lips of one, to whom the people were to look up for succour and protection. With folded hands she implored the king to have pity upon her distress and addressed him as “Father.” But the king turned a deaf ear to her entreaties as well as to the term of the address and perforce he took her home. He had, however, a very strong common sense : he knew that only by gentle persuasion could he expect to win the lady’s heart. So he began to

humour her a little and agreed in accordance with her wishes to postpone the marriage to some future date. The princess was under the impression that her husband would return before this period of grace would be over. But she was mistaken. At length she implored the mercy and protection of the goddess, who had once helped her up, and who was known to be the patron deity of faithful women. The goddess became propitious, told her the secret of her husband and advised her to arrange for her worship. So a few days before the period of grace would be over, she asked the king to make suitable arrangements for the worship of the goddess Durgā on the day of the expiry of her term. The king, who would not for the life of him deny her anything, did his level best to have everything ready for the occasion. One thing more he did. The princess had told him that the goddess had intimated to her in a dream that she wanted the sacrifice of the goat which the mālinī kept concealed under the planks of her floor. He compelled the mālinī, under pain of death, to show her place of concealment, but he was puzzled to find that there were more than one goat there. Not knowing which one the goddess would like, he brought home all of these goats. At this the Princess was much distressed. But fortune favoured her. When the goats were tied together to a post ready for sacrifice, the poor creatures, who were not deprived of their feelings and power of speech, began to lament their hard lots. At once the princess recognised her husband, and, as previously advised by the goddess, she sprinkled some water from the pot in which the waters with which the goddess was bathed were deposited upon the particular goat. And lo and behold, there stood before the petrified spectators a majes-

tic and glorious human being ! And before they had regained their senses, the princess was in the close and warm embrace of her husband. Tears rolled down their cheeks, their voices were stifled, but they were exchanging speechless but more effective messages through their eyes. When the excitement had abated a little, the king heard the story of the lady he had hoped to marry and congratulated himself that somehow or other he had become the instrument of bringing about the re-union of this faithful couple. Words were also sent to the father of the princess.

Now, the father of the princess, the whole affection of whose heart was rivetted upon this only child, had almost broken his heart over the loss of his daughter. Copious and incessant were the tears that he had shed after her and the result was he had lost the use of both of his eyes. Equally miserable was the condition of his one hundred wives. But when they came to know that she had been found, and found quite hale and hearty, all their troubles were over, as though under a magic spell. They hastened to the house of the king where their daughter was putting up with her husband and clasped her to their bosoms all at a time.

Thereafter the days passed very merrily and happily. In course of time the old king died leaving the Kotwal's son as his successor ; but before his death, and to crown his happiness, a son was born to the princess. Time rolled on and the young lad grew a fine young man. Then making over the kingdom to him with their blessings, the princess and her husband went away to Vaikunṭha in the chariot which Viṣṇu had sent down for the purpose."

There is a belief amongst the natives of this place that the gaḍa was built by Çaçisenā and her husband, on their return, just on the spot where the school once stood. Hence, the place is still known by the name of Çaçisenā. It was at the hands of the Mahomedans that this gaḍa met with its destruction.

As regards the time when Mughalmāri fell into ruins, nothing definite is known. But then we have a strong suspicion that the terrible war between the Moguls and the Paṭhāns that was going on for some time during the reign of Akbar, brought about the ruin of this city of palaces. Mr. Blochman's observation on this point is quoted below *in extenso* :—

“Now from the facts that the battle took place soon after the Imperialists had left Chittuā which lies a little E. E. N. of Mednīpūr, and that after the victory Rājah Todar Mall, in a pursuit of several days, pushed as far as Bhadrak, I was led to conclude that the battle must have taken place near Jalesar (Jellasure), and probably north of it, as Abulfazl would have mentioned the occupation of so large a town. On consulting the large Trigonometrical Map of Orissā lately published, I found on the road from Mednīpūr to Jalesar the village of Mogulmaree (Mughalmāri *i. e.* Mughal's Fight), and about seven miles southwards, half-ways between Mughalmāri and Jalesar, and two miles from the left bank of the Soobanreeka river, the village of Tookaroo.

According to the map the latitude of Mughalmāri is 22°, and that of Tookaroo, 21°, 53' nearly. There can be no doubt that the Tookaroo is the Takarōi, of the Akbarnāmah.

The battle extended over a large ground.

Badāonī speaks of three, four kos, *i. e.* about six miles, and thus the distance of Takaroī from Mughulmārī is accounted for.”*

The founder of the present zamindar family of Dāntan helped the Mughals in the war that took place between them and the Paṭhāns, and was in consequence honoured with the title of ‘Vīravala’ by Todar Mal the Commander of the Mughal forces. At that time Dāntan was included within the territories of the Chief of Mayūr-bhañja. But as the latter allowed the Paṭhān Chief to take refuge in his kingdom, Todar Mal got highly incensed and gave away Dāntan-gada and its adjacent zamindary to Vīravala. The zamindary has since continued in the possession of his descendants.

* Blochmann's *Ain-I-Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 376.

KĀSIĀRI.

About two miles to the north of Mughalmāri described above is the famous shrine of Ćiva known as Gaganeçvara; and about one mile to the north of it is the very ancient village of Kāsiāri. Ample traces are even now discernible to prove that once upon a time a flourishing and thickly-peopled town extended from Gaganeçvara to the outskirts of the village of Kāsiāri. On one side of this ancient town was located Gaganeçvar Mahādeva and on the other the big temple of the goddess Sarvamangalā. A time was when the Suvarṇarekhā washed the foot of this temple: and although it has receded far off, yet its old bed can still be seen. We have read in the geneological history of the Pāçchātya Vaidika of Bengal written on palm leaves and about three hundred years old that the royal Sena dynasty reigned in a place called Kāçipuri and situated on the banks of the Suvarṇarekhā. Two sons were born to Vijayasena, one of the rulers of this place; the elder being named Malla and the younger Çyāmala. It was the latter that conquered East Bengal and made the city of Vikramapura his capital. And it was he who, on the occasion of the Çākuna-satra brought down several Sāgnika Brāhmaṇas from Karṇāvātī. The venerable modern dynasty of the Pāçchātya Vaidika did in reality spring from these Sāgnika Brāhmaṇas.* From the other geneological work of

* Vide for particulars, my work in Bengali, entitled "Banger Jātiya Itihāsa. Vol II, pt. 3, pp. 14-17. Here the original çlokas have been quoted from the ancient unpublished works.

the Pāṇchātya Vaidika it has been established that it was the aforesaid Vijayasena who conquered Gauḍa and was the father of the highly famous Ballālasena. According to the Pāṇchātya Kulamañjarī Ćyāmalavarmā's sway in Vikramapura commenced in Ćaka 994, *i.e.* 1072 A. D., while antiquarians are of opinion that about that time Vijayasena also established his authority in Gauḍa. It is known from the Deopāḍā inscription of Vijayasena that his ancestors reigned in the Deccan. Under these circumstances, the work of palm-leaf referred to above leads us to infer that the dynasty of the Sena Kings of Gauḍa reigned for a while in Kācīpurī on the banks of the Suvarṇarekhā after they had left the Deccan. Although Vijayasena and his son Ćyāmala extended their sway over Gauḍa and Vāṅga, yet, as we learn from the work of palm-leaf, alluded to above, his other son Malla continued to rule in this Kācīpurī. There is no doubt that the ancient name of Kācīpurī has now degenerated into Kāsiārī.

A belief is current among the inhabitants of this village that at one time hundreds of thousand people lived and moved here and thousands of beautiful edifices reared their lofty heads. At night the floods of light coming through the windows of the houses illumined the whole village to such an extent that even on new moon nights the traveller did not require any lamp to light up his way from one end of the village to the other. This prosperous town was destroyed by the violent Mahomedans ; yet during the reign of the Mughal Emperors some traces of its former glory could still be seen and a large number of people resided here. The gentry of this place state curiously enough that the people of this ancient town took to *guli* (opium-

eating) during the rule of the Nawabs. In course of time this habit became common among the rich and the poor alike; and it is the pernicious influence of this intoxicating article that is mainly responsible for the depopulation of this village.

Of the ruins that are to be met with here at the present time, the Kurumverā (temple enclosure) of Gaganeçvara are the most notable. The wall is built up of blood-red sandstone, and is about 10 feet high. Inside the enclosure and at the eastern extremity of it is a temple of Çiva. There is here a well inside the temple-house and within this well is located a Çiva-linga. Diametrically opposite to this, *i. e.*, at the western extremity, there is to be found a Musjid also. From the Persian inscription attached to this we learn that it was built by one Muhammad Tāher during the reign of Aurangzeb and that its construction was completed in 1082 (Hizrā).

There is a deep tank in the east bearing the name of Yogeçvara-Kuṇḍa. It is alive with crocodiles.

The following tradition is current among the people of the place regarding the Kurumverā:—Mahārāja Kapileçvara of the Devarāja family of Orissa built this temple and set up inside it a Çiva-linga under the name of Gaganeçvara.

The Kurumberā of the temple is even now standing almost unimpaired. This stone-built temple is a fine building, 200 cubits in length and 150 in breadth. On its western wall there is to be found a Oriyā inscription, the characters of which have, however, become illegible. It is rumoured that the Muhammadans destroyed it.

The Sarvamangalā Devī of Kāsiāri is celebrated as being one of the principal goddesses of Orissa and Mednapur, who respond to the earnest prayers of their votaries. Pilgrims from countries afar off come to offer worship to this deity. It is an image of Gaurī but with two hands and sitting upon a lion. The Pāṇḍās, however, in her Dhyāna mentally picture her as possessing four hands. A book dealing with the glories of this goddess was also in the possession of the predecessor in office of the present Pāṇḍā, but it was lost when the house was reduced to ashes by fire. The popular impression is that the Muhammadans broke down and razed to the ground the original temple of this goddess and the small temple of to-day and its Nāṭamandira (portico in front of a temple) were built by a king of Orissa. On the left side of the principal temple is a stone-plate bearing an inscription in Oriya characters. When this temple had to be repaired and the portico was built, the inscription became invisible behind the masonry work. A small part of it is, however, open to view on the left side, though it is illegible to some extent. We took great pains in deciphering this part of the inscription and succeeded in reading the name of Raghubhanja Deva on it. We have obtained a faint glimpse also to the effect that this king dedicated some lands for the worship of Sarvamangalā. We have said before, while speaking of Mughalmārī, that this part of the country was at one time included in the territories of the Bhañja Rājās of Mayūrabhañja. We have also said, when we spoke of Māntri, that Govinda Vidyādhara killed Kakhāruā, king of Utkal, in 1456 A. D., and usurped the throne. Raghunāth Bhanja was a nephew (sister's son) of his; and because he

was the younger son of the Rājā of Mayūra-bhañja, he was given the nickname of "Chhoṭa Rāya" or "Chhoṭrā" under which he was more generally known. He took up arms against his uncle the ruler of Utkala and occupied its northern part. Probably it was this Bhañja prince who built the temple of Sarvamaṅgalā. The characters of the inscription referred to above are clearly of the 15th century A. D.

There is also an inscription in Oriya characters upon the vault in front of the Nāṭa-mandir of the temple of Sarvamaṅgalā. This has also become illegible in some parts by being whitewashed. The mode of placing the words in this inscription seems to point to a little later time than that of the inscription which bears the name of Raghubhañja. In this also mention is made of several plots of land set apart for the worship of gods. On the other side of the courtyard of the temple of Sarvamaṅgalā there is to be found one which was dedicated to her consort Īva. Some believe that in ancient times this *linga* was installed in a temple inside the celebrated Kurumberā of Gaganeṣvara. But when the Muhammadans broke down that temple and utilized the ground surrounded by the Kurumberā as a fort, the worshippers of the image stealthily took it away and kept concealed till peace was again restored, when they re-installed it. But there are others who hold that the *linga* of Gaganeṣvara was taken away by Gāñjīa Mahārāja.

Among the ancient relics of Kāsiāri the two Dargās in the immediate vicinity of Mughalpādā are worthy of special note. One was built during the reign of Shāhjahān and the other when Aurangzeb was on the throne. The

MAYURABHANJA ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY.



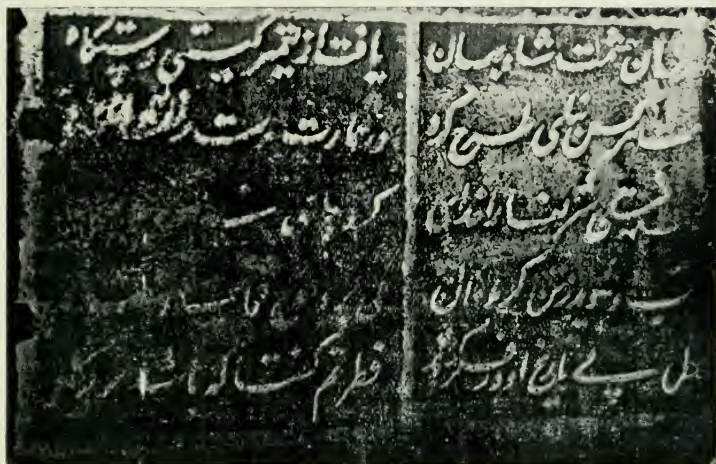
78. A Muhammadan Saint *from Kâsiâri.*

first was destroyed by the Marāṭhā; and on the spot on which this Dargā once stood is now to be found a stone image with a Persian inscription behind it:—"During the prosperous reign of Shah-Jahān, the earth received a power by this building. There is none who can build such a one. The mind sought to express the date ...
... (For Original See Plate No. 78B.)

Many have held that the above image represented certain Muhammadan saint. But in view of the fact that the making of images is strictly prohibited in the Muhammadan scripture we feel some hesitation in endorsing the above view. Though the roof of the other Dargā has fallen down, yet the four walls are even now standing. Above its entrance is to be found the following Persian inscription—

"God the merciful said, 'He who is obedient to God and his prophets he will be sent to the heavens, which is full of rivers and canals, and he who turns his back upon them will be punished rigorously. La illaha al allaha. This great mosque was built during the reign of Sultan Aurangzeb. God protect his kingdom always by Muhammad Tāhir.—The date of completion 1082."

(For original see Plate No. 78C.)



78 A.

Persian Inscription from Kâsiâri.



78 B.

Persian Inscription from Kâsiâri.

APPENDIX.

In this appendix eight copper-plate inscriptions are dealt with. Of these, five were granted by the Bhañja kings, two by the Tuyga and the remaining one by the Çulkika family. And of the first five, four plates (*viz.* from No. 84 to 96) have already been published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal ; but the remaining one of this set *viz.*, the copper-plate grant of Raṇabhañjadeva, (*viz.* from No. 79 to 83) recently discovered at Baud, and the other three (*viz.* from 97 to 102) are here published for the first time. In the first place we shall take up and discuss the Bhañja plates.

The copper-plates that have already been published have not been properly edited save that of Vidyādharabhañja.* So I have tried my level best to decipher these inscriptions by consulting facsimiles of the originals. Want of space, however, compels me to give here only brief accounts of these plates.

1. Baud-plates of Raṇabhañjadeva :—Four years ago two sets of copper-plates were turned up by the plough. The characters on both these sets were found to be similar in form and measurement and both the series refer to grants by Mahārāja Raṇabhañjadeva. Each set consisted of three plates joined together by a thick

* *Vide* Epigraphia Indica Vol. IX, p. 271*ff.*

copper ring with a copper seal upon it. Upon the seal were inscribed the signs of om,svastika, and the figure of a bear or a bull, and below that in bold type the word 'Çrī Raṇabhañja-devasya.' Apparently the characters belong to the 11th century A. D. Save the difference that is to be found in regard to the years of the reigns, and in the particulars about the grant mentioned in the plates, both the 1st and the 2nd plate of the two sets are almost similarly worded, especially in the imprecatory Çlokas. We do therefore content ourselves with publishing a transcript and full-sized facsimile of only one of these sets (No. 79-83).

2. Bāmanghāṭi-plate of Raṇabhañjadeva and of Rājabhañjadeva :—the subject of these copper-plates have already appeared in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. So we abstain from going into the details of their discovery.

Ādibhañja was another name of Virabhadra, the ancestor of Raṇabhañjadeva and his son Rājabhañja (No. 84, l. 5-6, No. 86. l. 5-6.). A lineal descendant of this Ādibhañja was named Koṭṭabhañja. Raṇabhañjadeva was the son of the latter's son Digbhañja, and Raṇabhañja's son was named Rājabhañja (No. 86. l. 9-14). Both of the last two have been described as inhabitants of Khijjiṅga-kotṭa (No. 84, l. 14: No. 86. l. 13.). This Khijjiṅga-kotṭa is now the celebrated Kiching included in the Pāncpir sub-division of the Mayūrabhañja State*. The villages that were given away by the copper-plate of Raṇabhañjadeva were comprised within 'Koraṇḍiya' and the Devakuṇḍa-Viṣaya, situated in the northern part

*For a detailed account of Kiching vide Mayurabhanja Archaeological Survey. Vol. II.

of the area of Khijjiṅga.' (No. 84. l. 16.). The village 'Korinjiya' situated only 5 miles north-west of Khiching reminds us of the Koranḍiya Viṣaya mentioned in the copper-plate. The name of the village that was given away under the copper-plate of Rājabhāṅjadeva was 'Brāhmaṇavasti'. It was 'a part of the Brāhmaṇavasti Viṣaya situated in the northern part of the area of Khichiyga.' (No. 86. l. 15-17). By far the larger portion of this Brāhmaṇavasti Viṣaya is now included in the Bāmanghāṭi sub-division. The headquarters of this subdivision bear also the same name. Within a couple of miles of the station there is to be found a village named Brāhmaṇavāsa. There is no doubt that this village is the one that has been referred to in the above copperplate as 'Brāhmaṇavasti.'

3. Gumsur plates of Netṛbhāṅjadeva and plates of Vidyādharaḥbhāṅjadeva :—

It appears that the plate of Netṛbhāṅja and Vidyādharaḥbhāṅjadeva were issued from a place called Vijaya-Vaṅjulvaka. This name has been spelt slightly differently; in the first No. 88. l. 8) the word is Vijaya-Vaṅjulvaka, and in the second (No. 92. l. 8) we have Vijaya-Vāṅjulvaka.

From these we learn also that to Netṛbhāṅja was applied the epithet of Kalyāṇakalaṣa (lit, a pitcher of good) and to Vidyādharaḥbhāṅja that of Dharmakalaṣa (*i.e.*, a pitcher of piety). (No. 89. l. 2 and No. 93. l. 2 respectively). Both of these kings are also said to have been 'Paramamāheçvara' (staunch devotees of Maheçvara) and styled 'Mahārāja.' We are further told that Netṛbhāṅja's father's name was Raṇabhāṅja and grandfather's Çatrubhāṅja (No. 89. l. 3-4) while

Mr. Metcalfe, had sent for publication to the Asiatic Society of Bengal a Bhañja plate that he had discovered in Balasore and that was afterwards published by Dr. Rājendralāl Mitra as the copper-plate of Vidyādhara**bhañja**deva. Now the fact that the plate was found in Balasore will naturally lead us to infer that this Vidyādhara**bhañja** was a king of Mayūrabhañja, so close to this district. We find that the village, which was given away under his copper-plate was named *Tuṇḍurāva*; and if local tradition has to be believed, the very ancient village of *Tuṇḍurā* in Balasore of which we have spoken before¹ and which is now in the possession of the Chief of the Nilgiri State², was included in the grant of land made by the Government of Mayūrabhañja. Under these circumstances we do not hesitate in the least to take modern *Tuṇḍurāva* for the village of 'Tuṇḍurā' referred to in the copper-plate of Vidyādhara**bhañja**. Again there is a perfect resemblance in the wording as well as in the characters used, between the first of copper-plates of Vidyādhara**bhañja** (No. 92) and the first (No. 88) of those of Netr**bhañja**deva discovered in Gumsur. From this it can be asserted with authority that these two kings sprang from the same stock. Hence it is gathered that about 8 centuries back a branch of the Bhañja dynasty left Mayūrabhañja and settled in the region of Gumsur. Even now there is a tradition current in the Baud State that it was a prince of the Bhañja dynasty of Mayūrabhañja that went and founded a royal house there. The

1. Vide Report on *Tuṇḍurā*, p. 105.

2. Vide Preface, where we have shown that Nilgiri was also under Mayurabhanja.

copper-plate of Raṇabhañjadeva that has been brought to light from Baud, may with safety be taken as having been inscribed in the 11th century A. D., or a little before or after it. Under these circumstances there can but be little doubt that the sway of the Bhañja dynasty was established there about nine centuries before.

The remaining three copper-plates have no connection whatsoever with the Bhañja House. But then two of these, *viz.* that of Gayādatuṅga and of Kulastambhadeva (No. 97-98 and No. 101-102) were sent for deciphering by the Chief of the Talcher State to the Chief of Mayūrabhañja. And under the direction of the latter these two have been deciphered and are published along with the Report. Beside the plate of Gayādatuṅga, I happened also to come by a rubbing of a plate granted by one Vinītatūṅga under the following circumstances. It is now two years that the rubbing of this plate was sent to the Indian Museum and my friend Babu Rākhāladāsa Banarji (now Personal Assistant to the Director-General of Archæological Survey) was kind enough to send it to me for deciphering. I learnt from him that this plate had also come from the Talcher State. As the rubbing was not found good and legible, no attempt was made to have a facsimile from it. So only the reading is furnished here. All these three plates bristle with so many and so great typographical errors that it will be absolutely labour lost to attempt at any fair translation of them. But then they seem to be clear on one point *viz.* that at one time (probably between the 11th and the 13th century) the Rāṣṭrakuṭa and the Çulkika or Chālukya dynasty exercised considerable influences in

the Talcher quarter of Utkala. There is much to be said about both these houses ; but lest I should be deemed to have unnecessarily prolonged the subject, I furnish here only the readings of the plate and reserve the historical discussion on them for the next volume.

BAUD PLATES OF RANABHANJADEVA.

No. 79.

Plate I. (Reverse)

Line 1. ओं सिद्धि ॥ संहारकालहुतभुग्विकरालघोर-
संम्रान्तकिंकरकतान्तनितान्त-

„ 2. भिन्द्रं
भिन्ने¹श्वकासुरमहागहनातपत्त्रं
तद्भैरवं हरवपुर्भवतः प्रपातुः² ॥
दुर्व्वारवा-

„ 3. रणरणप्रतिपक्षपक्ष-
लक्ष्मीं³ हठापहरणीत्सलितप्रतापाः ॥
भञ्जानराधि-

„ 4. पतयो वहवी वभूव⁴
रुद्रतयोत्र भूवि⁵ भूरिसहस्रसंख्याः ॥
तेषां कुले सकलभूतल-

(1) Read भिन्ना । (2) Read प्रपातु । (3) Read लक्ष्मी ।

(4) Read वभूव । (5) Read भूवि ।

Line 5.

पालमौलि-

मालाच्चि^१ताडि^२घ्रयुगलो वलवान्नृपोभूत् ॥श्रीगन्धट^३ प्रकट^४ पौरुषरश्मि-

.. 6.

चक्र-

निर्द्धारितारिहृदयोस्य पिता नृपस्य ॥

नानामानापमानान्योन्यलग्न-

,, 7.

गजवाजिघटभटौघसंघटघोरसमरनिर्द्धारितारि-

नरेन्द्रवृन्दक्ष^५स्त्रीसमूह-

,, 8.

हृदहरणप्रकटितविकटपटपुरुषकारप्रतापाति-

क्रान्तानेकसहस्रसंख्यवि-

,, 9.

ख्यातोत्खातखड्गभ्राजिष्णुभुजवज्रभञ्जभूपति-

प्रभृतिपुराधृतिपुरात् ॥ शरदम-

,, 10.

लवहलजलधरद्वल^६ यशःपटलकमलमालालङ्कृत-

सकलदिग्वधूवद-

,, 11.

नो अनवरतप्रवर्त्तमाननानासम्मानदानानन्दित-

निशेष^७ स्वजनदीनदुखिता^{१०} ना-

[No. 80.

Plate II. (Reverse)

Line 1. यजनमनोवनोवड्^८शप्रभवाण्डजः परममाहेश्वरो

मातापितृपादानुध्यातो भञ्जा-

,, 2.

मलकुलतिलको महाराज^{११} श्रीरणभञ्जदेवः

कुशली ॥ खिञ्जलीमण्डले भविष्य-

(6) Read गन्धटः ।

(7) ट and ठ every where appear like ट

and ठठ ।

(8) Read धवक्ष ।

(9) Read निःशेष ।

(10) Read दुःखिता

(11) Read महाराजः ।

पदममवाववावदु पदवावदुः पममादुवरावा नयि नृपायानुवा नारुप
 मलेकुलनिलकम मरादणीरलमदुदवःकुणली ॥ जिदलीमल्लैद्विषा
 दद गदकनकुमाववा गुमनमाधनु वा दूलापुगाठिमावकुण्डल
 याठिकवुल्लुद वल्लं दद नृपायवा नैमानयनिवावटनिममादिगयनिगमा
 नमयुनंठिवमसूकविदिनम सुदव नो ॥ ग्वानियाविसयसम्वुः कारनिविश्रम
 ॥ ३३ ॥ शिमा पयवः सविदि उवायनिविदमा नयि नृपायमवदु पु ल्या
 दिदु दृया सल्लि लवागयुममरलविविवा ॥ गदिनमा नृपायनोडिदुका
 यविगवाभिरयवरायग्वकुचरलायनोडुममा ग्वायवायुदवमुनाय द
 न्दु ॥ ३४ ॥ यिलोमुलैसिविनिर्जनडवुमरसरावा युवाविलिष्वययसविवाववि
 ॥ ३५ ॥ नाभुगामवद्वयनिपादिमासूदिद्येदमवा मययकुलाय नोरेलयाव
 दृयावव ववेवयावाकाल्यनुल्ययगल्लुदवागनेवयुनमासिअदुमलविग

- Line 3. द्राजराजानकान्तरङ्गकुमारामात्यमहासामन्त-
ब्राह्मणपुरोगमानन्यांश्च¹² दण्ड-
- „ 4. पाशिकचाटभटवत्सभजातीया¹³ यथार्हं मानयति
बोधयति समादिशयति¹⁴ चान्य-
- „ 5. त् सर्व्वतः शिवमस्माकम् विदितमस्तु भवतां ॥
खातियाविषयसम्बन्धः कोनतिन्यग्राम-
- „ 6. श्वतुःसिमा¹⁵ पर्यन्तः¹⁶ सन्निधिक्षोपनिधिक्ष¹⁷ माता-
पित्रो रात्मनश्च पुण्या-
- „ 7. भिम्बुडये । सलिलधारापुरसरण¹⁸विधिना ॥
रोहितगोत्राय रोहित-अष्टका-
- „ 8. य विश्वामित्रप्रवराय ऋग्वेदोक्तचरणाय¹⁹ कौथुम-
शाखाय वासुदेवसुताय भ-
- „ 9. टपुत्र-अपिलोमूलेरिविनिर्गतअम्बसरसरा-
वास्तव्यविधिर्विधेयसविधानवि-
- „ 10. धिना ताम्ब्रशासनत्वेन प्रतिपादितोस्माभिर्यतेश्च²⁰
पारंपर्यकुलावतारिण याव-
- „ 11. द्वेदाववचनेन यथा काण्डात् काण्डात् प्ररोहन्ति
या शतेन प्रतनोषि सहस्रेण विरो-

(12) Read नन्यांश्च ; (13) Read जातीयान् । (14) Read समादिशति ।

(15) Read सीमा । (16) Read पर्यन्त ।

(17) Read सन्निधिक्षोपनिधिक्ष । (18) Read पुरःसरण ।

(19) Read कान्दोक्तचरणाय । (20) Read यथेच्छ

- Line 1. हसि एवं वुध्वा परार्द्धं च परतः वंश²¹वतारिणापि
भवद्भिः²²रस्मदुपरोक्तधर्मगौर-
,, 2. वाच न केनचिदल्पमपि वाधा करणीयं²³ ॥ उक्तञ्च
धर्मशास्त्रे बहुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता राज-
,, 3. भिः सगरादिभि-
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिः तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥
माभूदफलशङ्का वः
,, 4. परदत्तेति पार्थिवाः
स्वदानात् फलमानन्त्यं परदत्तानुपालने ॥
अश्वमेधसहस्राणि
,, 5. वाजपेयशतानि च
पौण्डरीकसहस्राणि भूमिदानार्द्धिकं फलं ॥
एकविंशति-
,, 6. कुलान्याहुः कष्टं हि नरके स्थितं
भूमिदानेन मात्रेण ऊर्ध्वं यान्ति मृतं दिवि ।
,, 7. स्वदत्तां परदत्ताम्वा यो हरति²⁴ वसुन्धरां ॥
स विष्टया²⁵ कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह प-
,, 8. च्यते ॥
हिरण्यमेकं गौरिकं भूमिमप्यर्द्धमङ्गुलं (1)
हरं नरकमायाति यावदाहुतिसंज्ञ-

(21) Read वंश ।

(22) भवद्भिः ।

(23) करणीया ।

(24) Read हरति ।

(25) Read विष्टया ।

Line 9.

वः ॥

अविषं²⁶ विषमित्याहुः ब्रह्मस्वं विषमुच्यते (I)
विषमेकाकिनो हन्ति ब्रह्मस्वं पुत्रपौत्र-

,, 10.

कं ॥

सर्वेषान्तु प्रदानानां भूमिदानं प्रशस्यते (I)
कल्पकोटीशतं पापं सचितं जयते नरः (II)

., 11. एकविड् शतिकुलानेव कष्टं²⁷ नरके स्थितं (I)
भूमिदानेन मात्रेण त्वचेवाहिर्बि²⁸मुच्यते (II)
पापनि-

No. 82.

Plate III. (Reverse)

Line 1. शौच्यं वस्तुक्ता सौपाना भूमिदानकं
पदे पदे दिवि यान्ति पितृमात्रैकविंशकं ॥
फलस्य

,, 2. कथितं धर्मफलानिष्फलसंभवः²⁹ (I)
भूमिहर्ता फलचेत³⁰फला निष्फलतां व्रजेत् (I)

,, 3. अश्वमेधसहस्राणि वाजपेयशतानि च (I)
गवां शतसहस्रेण भूमिहर्ता न शुध्यति ॥

., 4. लौहचूर्णाश्मचूर्णं च विषञ्च जरये नरः (I)
ब्रह्मस्वं त्रिषु लोकेषु कः प्रमा जरयिष्यति ॥

(26) Read न विषं । (27) Read कष्टं । (28) Read तस्याहि वि ।

(29) Read कथितो धर्मः फलं हि फलसंभवम् ।

(30) Read फलात्तत्फलं ।

Line 5. यज्ञोन्मतेन चरति तपः चरति विस्मयात् (1)

क्षितिहर्त्तेकविंशानि कुलानि नरकं व्रजेत् ॥

तृ-

„ 6. णाग्रजलविन्दुश्च जलबुद्बुदसादृश³¹ (1)

सदृशं जीवितं ज्ञात्वा कीर्त्तिधर्मं न लोप-

„ 7. येत् ॥

वेदवाक्स्मृतयो जित्वा वदन्ति ऋषिदेवताः (1)

भूमिहर्त्ता तथा मर्त्तगा आभौमा हर

मा हरः ॥

„ 8. यथाप्सु पतितं शक्र³² तैलविन्दुर्व्विसर्पति ।

एवं भूमिकृतं दानं यस्य यस्य प्ररो-

„ 9. हति ॥

आस्फोटयन्ति पितरः प्रवर्षन्ति पितामह³³ (1)

भूमिदाता कुले जाता समवाता भ-

विथ्यति ॥

„ 10. आदित्यो वरुणो विष्णु³⁴ ब्रह्मसोमहुताशनः³⁵ (1)

शूलपाणिस्तु भगवां³⁶ अभिवं-

दंतु भूमिदः ॥

„ 11. भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यच्च³⁷ भूमिं प्रयच्छति

उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणी नियतौ

(31) Read सदृशं ।

(32) Read शुकः ।

(33) Read पितामहः ।

(34) Read विष्णुः ।

(35) Read हुताशनाः । (36) Read भगवान् । (37) Read यच्च ।

No. 83.

Plate III (Reverse)

Line 1.

स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥

इति कमलदलाम्बुविन्दुलोला³⁸ श्री³⁹यमनुचिन्ता
मनुष्यजीवितं⁴⁰

,, 2. सकलमिदमुदाहृतं हि बुद्ध्वा न हि पुरुषः

परकीर्त्तनं विलोप्या⁴¹ ॥

,, 3. श्रीरणभञ्जदेवस्य प्रवर्द्धमाने विजयराज्ये सम्बत्सरे
चतुःपञ्चाशत्तमे भाद्रपदश्रावामा-

,, 4. स्यायां⁴² लिखितं सान्धिविग्रहिय⁴³ हिमदत्तेन
उत्किर्ण⁴⁴ च आर्कशालि गोना-

,, 5. केन लाङ्कितं महाराजकीयमुद्रेण ॥

BAMANGHATI PLATE OF RANABHANJADEVA.

No. 84.

(Obverse)

श्रीरणभञ्जदेवस्य

Line 1.

सस्ति । सकलभुवनैकनाथो भ-

,, 2. वभयभैर्व्वरो¹ भवो भवानीशः विविधसमा-

,, 3. धिविधित्रः सर्व्वज्ञो वः शिवायास्तु² । आसी-

,, 4. त्कोट्याश्रममहातपोवनाधिष्ठाने मायूराण्डं

(38) Read लोला । (39) Read श्रिय । (40) Read जीवितञ्च ।

(41) पुरुषैः परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्याः । (42) Read भाद्रपद-श्रावस्यायां ।

(43) Read सान्धिविग्रहिकं । (44) Raad उत्कीर्णं ।

(1) Read भिदुरी । (2) Read शिवायास्तु ।

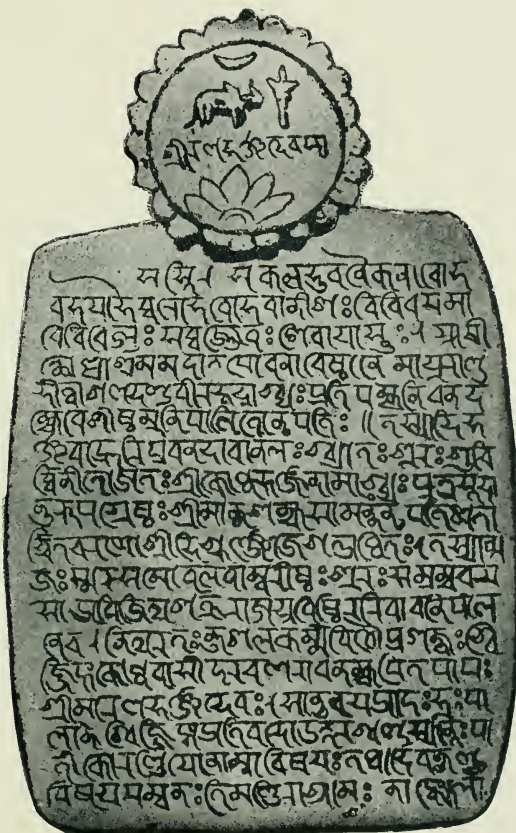
- Line 5. भी⁵त्वा गण⁶दण्डवीरभद्राख्यः प्रतिपत्तनिधनद-
 „ 6. क्षी⁷वशीष्ठ⁸मुनिपालितो नृपतिः ॥ तस्यादिभ-
 „ 7. क्षवड⁹शे¹⁰रिपुवनदावानलः ख्यातः शूरः शुचि-
 „ 8. र्विनीतो जातः श्रीकोटभञ्जनामाख्यः पुत्रस्तदा-
 „ 9. नुरुपश्रेष्ठः श्रीमान्नशर्त्त¹¹सामन्तनृपतिशता-
 „ 10. र्वि¹²तचरणो¹³ श्रीदिग्भञ्जो जगत्प्रथितः । तस्यात्म-
 „ 11. जः स्मरसमो वलवाम्बरोष्ठ¹⁴ः शूरः समुन्मचय-
 „ 12. सा¹⁵प्रविजित्य शत्रु¹⁶राजा युधिष्ठिररि¹⁷वावनिपाल-
 „ 13. ने च । नित्य¹⁸रतः कुशलकर्म्मविधौ प्रशक्तः क्षि-
 „ 14. ज्जिह्मकोटवासी हरचरणाराधनक्षयितपापः
 „ 15. श्रीमा¹⁹रणभञ्जदेवः । सानुनय प्राहः²⁰ भूःपा-
 „ 16. लने²¹ खिज्जिह्मप्रतिवदो²² उत्तरखण्डस्यान्तःपा-
 „ 17. ती कोरण्डियो नाम्ना विषयः तथा देवकुण्ड-
 „ 18. विषयसम्बन्धः²³ तिमण्डिराशामः नाङ्गोला-

No. 85.

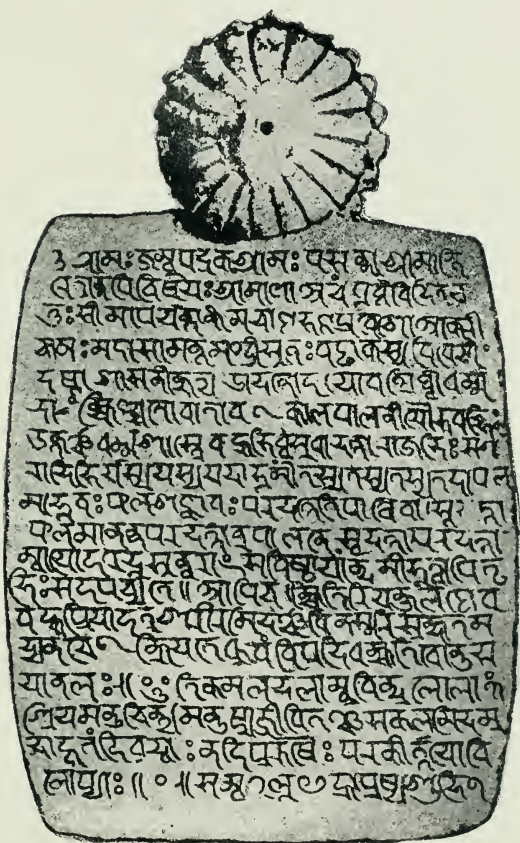
(Reverse)

- Line 1. इग्रामः जम्बुपट्टकग्रामः पसन्नाग्रामाभि
 „ 2. रत्तादपि²⁴ विषयः ग्रामाणाञ्चयं²⁵ पूर्वविदितच-
 „ 3. तुःसीमापर्यन्ताकमचाटभटप्रवेशो आकरी-

(3) Read भिला । (4) Read स्वर्ण । (5) Read वशष्ठ । (6) Read वंशे । (7) Read श्रीमानसंख्य and चरणः । (8) Read वलवान् वरिष्ठः । (9) Read समुन्नतयशः । (10) Read शत्रु । (11) Read युधिष्ठिर इवा । (12) Read नित्यं । (13) Read श्रीमान् । (14) Read सानुनयं प्राह । (15) Read भूपालने । (16) प्रतिवदोत्तरखण्ड । (17) Read सम्बन्धः । (18) Read ग्रामभिरंतावदपि । (19) Read ग्रामाणामयं ।



84. *Ranabhanjadeva plate of Ranabhanjadeva, (Obverse).*



- Line 4. कमः²⁰ महासामन्तमण्डोसुतः वटाकस्य विधिसं-
 ,, 5. दृष्ट्वा²¹ शासनीकृत्य प्रदत्तोऽभूत् यावत् पृथ्वीधर्म-
 ,, 6. दान्निष्ठ्यतो वा तावत्कालपालनीयो भवद्भिः
 ,, 7. उक्तञ्च धर्मशास्त्रे बहुभिर्व्यसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सग-
 ,, 8. रादिभिः यस्य यस्य यदा भूमीं तस्य²² तस्य
 तस्य तदा फलं
 ,, 9. माभूदफलशङ्का वः परदत्तेति पार्थिवा²³ स्वदत्ता
 ,, 10. फलमानन्तरं परदत्तानुपालने(1) स्वदत्तां परदत्ता-
 ,, 11. म्वा यो हरेद्वसुन्धरां²⁴ स विष्ठायां कृमीर्भूत्वा²⁵ पितृ-
 ,, 12. भिः सह पच्यते ॥ अपिच²⁶ ॥ क्षितिरियं कुलटोव
 ,, 13. बहुप्रिया हतशरीरमिदञ्च विनश्चरे सूक्ष्मतम-
 ,, 14. द्य न चेत् क्रियते ध्रुवं विपदि धत्तति वीनुस-
 ,, 15. यानलः ॥²⁷ इति कमलदलाम्बुविन्दुलोलां
 ,, 16. श्रियमनुचिन्ता मनुष्यजीवितञ्च सकलमिदमु-
 ,, 17. दाहृतं हि बुद्धाः²⁸ नहि पुरुषैः परकीर्त्तयो वि-
 ,, 18. लोप्याः²⁹ ॥ ० ॥ सम्वत् २८८ पुष्य शुदि १

(20) Read अकरोक्त्य । (21) Read संदृष्ट्य । (22) Read भूमिः and Omit तस्य । (23) Read पार्थिवाः । (24) हरेत वसुन्धरां । (25) Read कृमीर्भूत्वा । (26) अपिच । (27) Read क्षितिरियं कुलटेव बहुप्रिया हतशरीरमिदञ्च विनश्चरम् । सूक्ष्मतमं न चेत् क्रियते ध्रुवं सपदि धत्तति वीनुशयानलः ॥ (28) Read बुद्धा । (29) Read विलोप्याः

BAMANGHATI PLATE OF RAJABHANJADEVA.

No. 86.

(Obverse)

श्रीराजभञ्जदेवस्य

Line 1. स्वस्ति । सक¹भुवनै-

,, 2. कनाथो भवभयभिदुरो भवो भवानोशः ॥

,, 3. वेविध²समाधिविधेः³ सर्व्वगो वः शिवायास्तुः⁴ ॥,, 4. याशीत्⁵ कोट्टाश्रममहातपोवनाधिष्ठाने मायूरा-,, 5. ण्ड⁶भित्वा शर्ण⁷दण्डवीरभद्राख्यप्रतिपत्तनिधनदत्तो व,, 6. शिष्ठमूनिपालितो नृपति⁸ ॥ तस्यादिभञ्जवंशे विपु⁹व-,, 7. ण¹⁰दावानलख्यातः । शूर¹¹शुचिर्व्विनीतोजातः श्री-,, 8. कीदृभञ्जनामपुत्रपदानुरूपशेष्ठ¹²श्रीमानसंख्यसामन्त-,, 9. नृपतिशतार्चि¹³तचरणः श्रीरणभञ्जो जगत्-,, 10. प्रथितः⁽¹⁾तस्यात्मजः स्मरसमो बलवान्वरिष्ठो¹⁴शूरस,, 11. मुन्नतयसा¹⁵प्रवितिव्य¹⁶शत्रु¹⁶राजा युधिष्ठिर¹⁷रिवाद-,, 12. निपालने च । नित्यं¹⁸रतः कुशलकर्मविधौ प्रम,, 13. तश¹⁸खिज्जिङ्गकोट्टवासी हरचरणाराधनक्षयित-,, 14. पापः । श्रीमा¹⁹राजभञ्जदेवः सानुनयं ग्राह भूपा-,, 15. लान् खिचिभ²⁰प्रतिवद्धोत्तरखण्डस्थान्तपाति²¹

(1) Read सकल । (2) Read विविध । (3) Read विधेः ।

(4) Read शिवायास्तु । (5) Read चासीत् । (6) Read मायूराण्ड ।

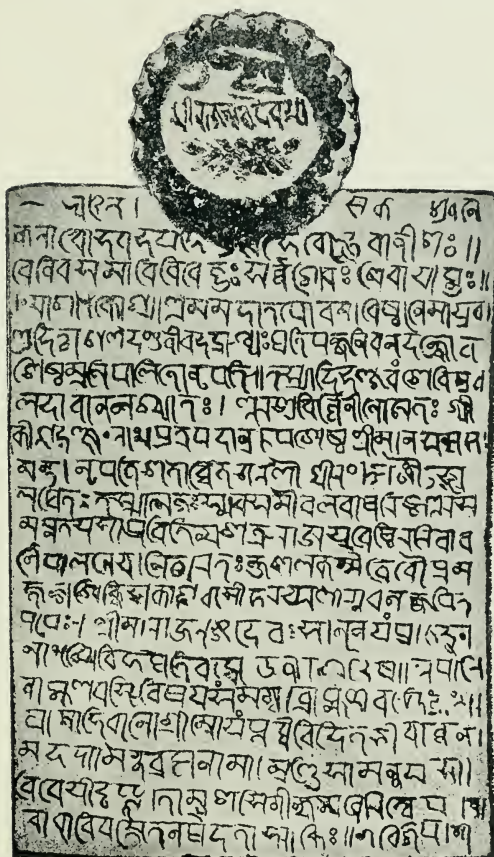
(7) Read शर्ण । (8) Read नृपतिः । (9) Read विपु । (10) Read वन ।

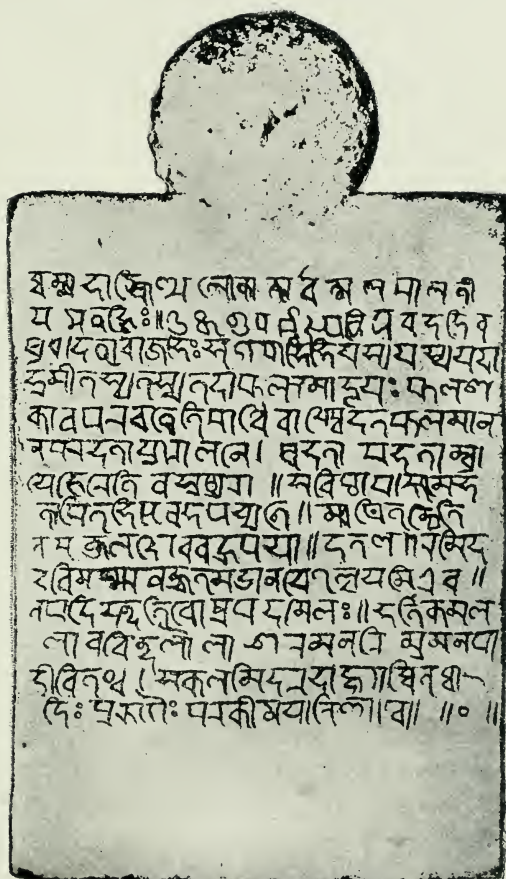
(11) Read शूरः । (12) Read श्रेष्ठः । (13) Read हरिवः ।

(14) Read यशः । (15) Read प्रविजित्य । (16) Read शत्रुं ।

(17) Read युधिष्ठिर इवा । (18) Read प्रमत्तः श्री । (19) Read श्रीमान् ।

(20) Read खिचिङ्ग । (21) Read उत्तरखण्डस्थान्तपाति ।





87. Bāmanghāti plate of Rājabhanjadeva. (Reverse).

- „ 16. ब्राह्मणवस्तिविषयसंभवात्²² ब्राह्मणवस्तिनाम्ना
 „ 17. ग्रामाभिधानो ग्रामोयं पूर्वविदितसीवान्त²³ना-
 „ 18. मृददामि शूब्रह्म²⁴नामा । सुखिसामन्त स स्य²⁵ ।
 „ 19. विधेयी दृष्ट्वा ताम्रशासनीकृत्याकरत्वे या²⁶ । र्व²⁷
 „ 20. वाधाविवर्जितेन प्रदत्तोस्माभिः ॥ शविजयान्म-²⁸

No. 87.

(Reverse)

1. इमं²⁹दाक्षिण्यलोकात्तावत्कालपालनी-
 „ 2. य³⁰ भवद्भिः ॥ उक्तञ्च धर्मशास्त्रे बहुभिर्वा
 „ 3. क्षुधा³¹ दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिर्यस्य यस्य यदा
 „ 4. भूमौ³²तस्य तस्य तदा फलं माभूयः फलशं-
 „ 5. का व परदत्तेति पार्थिवा ।³³ स्वदत्तं फलमान-
 „ 6. न³⁴ परदत्तानुपालने । स्वदत्तां पदत्वाम्वा³⁵
 „ 7. यो हरेति³⁶ वसुन्धरा³⁷ ॥ स विष्ठाया कृमिभूं
 „ 8. ता³⁸ पितृभिः सवह पच्यते³⁹ ॥ अपि त⁴⁰ क्षिति-
 „ 9. सम कुलदेवे बहु पया ॥ हतशरीरमिदं
 „ 10. च विमम्भर⁴¹वन्धत महानचेत् कथमि एव ॥

- (22) Read सन्ध्यात् । (23) Read मोमन्त । (24) Read सुब्रह्म ।
 (25) Read सुतस्य । (26) Read करत्वेन and वा । (27) Read सत्त्वं ।
 (28) Read सविजयान्म । (29) Read इमं ।
 (30) Read लोकात्तावत्कालपालनीयाः । (31) Read वसुधा ।
 (32) Read भूमिः । (33) माभूदफलशब्दा वः परदत्तेति
 पार्थिवाः । (34) Read स्वदत्ता फलमानन्त्रा । (35) Read परदत्तां वा ।
 (36) Read हरेत् । (37) Read वसुन्धरा । (38) Read विष्ठाया कृमिभूत्वा ।
 (39) Read पितृभिः सद्य पच्यते । (40) Read अपि च ।
 (41) Read क्षितिस्थं कुलदेव बहुमिया हतशरीरमिदं च विमम्भरम् ।

- Line 11. सपदि सन्दति वो षुपदामलः⁴² इति कमल-
 „ 12. लावविन्दुलोला⁴³ शरमनरिन्त मनसा⁴⁴
 „ 13. जीवितञ्च । सकलमिदमूदाहृतञ्च ध्वान
 „ 14. हिः⁴⁵ पुरुषैः परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्याः⁴⁶ ॥०॥

GUMSUR PLATES OF NETRIBHANJADEVA.

No. 88.

Plate I (Reverse)

- Line 1. श्रीं स्वस्ति (1) जयतु कुसुमवाणप्राणविद्योभदचं
 स्वकिर-
 „ 2. णपरिवेषार्जित्य जीर्णेन्दुलेखं (1) त्वभुवनभवनान्त-
 दगोतभा-
 „ 3. स्वत्प्रदीपं कनकनिकषगौरं चारुनेत्रं हरस्य ॥ शेषाहे
 „ 4. रिव ते फणाः प्रविरलसंत्युज्ञासुरेन्दुत्विषः, प्रालेया-
 „ 5. चलशृङ्गकोटय इव त्वङ्गन्ति येत्युन्नताः (1)
 नृत्ताटोपवि-
 „ 6. धिठता¹ इव भुजा राजन्ति ये शाश्ववास्तेसब्बौघ-
 विघातिन-
 „ 7. स्मुरसरित्तोयोर्भयः पान्तु वः(॥) विजयवाञ्छुल्वकात्
 „ 8. अस्ति जयश्रीनिलयः प्रकटगुणस्तसर्वरिपुस-

(42) सुकृतमय न चेत् क्रियते भ्रुवं सपदि धत्त्यति वोऽनुशयानलः ॥

(43) Read कमलदलाम्बविन्दुलोला । (44) Read श्रियमनुचिन्त मनस्य ।

(45) Read सकलमिदमुदाहृतञ्च बुद्धा न हि । (46) Read विलोप्याः ।

(1) Read त्रि । (2) Read प्रविरलसं । (3) ट everywhere appears

like ट । (4) Read विघटिता ।

No. 89.

Plate II. (Obverse)

Line 1. द्वुः श्रीकल्याणकलशनामा राजा निर्धूतकलिक-

,, 2. लुषः भञ्जामलकुलतिलकः श्रीशत्रुभञ्जदेवस्य

,, 3. नम्रा श्रीरणभञ्जदेवस्य सुनुः परममाहेश्वरो माता⁹

,, 4. पितृपादानुध्यानरतः श्रीनेत्रभञ्जदेवः कुशली

मच्छाउख-

,, 5. ण्डविशय⁵ राज्यागतकराजपुत्तांतिंशतिदंडपा-

,, 6. शिकान् यथाकालोध्यासितान्वावहारिणो ब्राह्मणां क-

,, 7. रणान्सेभिंतिवासिजनपदांश्च यथार्हं मानयति बोध-

,, 8. यति समादिशति च सर्व्वतः शिवमस्माकमन्यत्

विदितम-

,, 9. स्तु भवतामेतद्विषयसम्बन्धः मच्छजग्रामः

चतु⁷सीमाप-

No. 90.

Plate II. (Reverse)

Line 1. रिच्छिन्नोस्ताभिः मातापितृत्वानश्च⁸ पुण्याभि-

वृद्धये वाज-

,, 2. सनेयचरणाय वत्सगोत्राय कण्वशाखाय चारिषे⁹प्र-,, 3. वराय वत्सभार्गवानुप्रवराय भट्टेच्छेरस्य¹⁰स्वामिनो-नमाय¹¹

(5) Read माहपितृ । (6) Read विषय । (7) Read चतुः ।

(8) Read मातापितृत्वानश्च ।

(9) Read चारिषे ।

(10) Read भट्टेच्छेरस्य ।

(11) Read नमः ।

Line 4. भट्टकेशवदेवशुताय¹² भट्टेद्रदेवाय भट्टादित्यदेवाय

धारा-

„ 5. सलिलपुरस्सरेण विधिना प्रतिपादितः आचन्द्रार्क-
ताराया

„ 6. नक्त अचाटभटप्रवेशत सर्व्ववाधापरिहारेण
अकरत्वेन भव-

„ 7. द्विधर्म¹³गौरवात् केनचिद्व्याहननीयः
असत्कुलक्रमसु-

„ 8. दारसुदारद्विरनेश्च दानमिदमनु¹⁴मोदनौयं लक्ष्म्यास्त-

„ 9. ङित्सलिलतुदुदत्तचञ्चलायानं फलयसशः परि

No. 91.

Plate III. (Reverse)

Line 1. पालनञ्च ॥ उक्तञ्च धर्मशास्त्रे बहुभिर्बसुधा दत्ता

राजभिः सग-

„ 2. रादिभिः (I) यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा
फलं । माभुदफल-

„ 3. शङ्का व¹⁵ परदत्तानुपालनं¹⁶ ॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्ताम्¹⁷
यो हरेति¹⁸ वसुन्धरां । स वि-

„ 4. छायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यते (II) षष्टिवर्ष-
सहस्राणि स्वर्गे

„ 5. मोदति भूमिदः (I) आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तानेग्रव¹⁹
नरकं व्रजेत् (II) इ-

(12) Read सुताय ।

(13) Read भवद्विधर्म ।

(14) Read

कुलक्रमागतसुदारवद्विरन्यैश्च दानमित्यनु

(15) Read वः ।

(16) Read

पालने ।

(17) परदत्ताम् ।

(18) Read हरेत् ।

(19) Read स एव ।

Line 6. ति कमलदलाम्बुविन्दुलोलां श्रियमनुचिन्ता मनुष्य-
जीवितञ्च सक-

,, 7. लमिदमुदाहरन्ति बुध्वा न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्त्तयो
विलोप्याः²⁰ । स्वय-

,, 8. मादिष्टो राज्ञा दूतकोऽत्र भट्टश्रीस्तम्भदेवः
लिखितञ्च सान्धि-

,, 9. विग्रहिणे काककेन उत्कीर्णं चार्कशालि-
दुर्गदेवेन ॥ सा-

,, 10. ऋतं तण्डुलेनावच्छिकाया सम्वत्
माघशुद्धिसप्तमि²¹ ओं

COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF VIDYADHARABHANJADEVA.

No. 92.

Plate I. (Reverse)

Line 1. ओं (1) जयतु कुसुमवाणप्राणविचोभदत्तं स्वकिर-

,, 2. णपरिवेषोज्जित्या¹ जीर्णन्दुलेखं (1) त्रिभुवनभवन-

,, 3. न्तर्योतभास्वत्प्रदीपं कनकनीकषण्णैरं विभ्रुनेत्रं

,, 4. हरस्य (॥) शेषाहरव² ये फणा³ प्रविलसन्तुङ्गा-

,, 5. स्वरन्दुत्विषं प्रलेया⁴ चलशृङ्गकोट्य इव त्व-

,, 6. झन्ति यत्तून्नता⁵ (1) नृत्ताटोपविघटिता इव मुजा रा-

,, 7. जन्ति ये शाभवा⁶ स्ते सर्व्वाघविघातिन⁷ सुरस-

,, 8. रिक्तोयोर्मयः पान्तु वः (॥) स्वस्ति विजयवच्चल्लवका-

(20) Read विलोप्याः । (21) Read सप्तमी । (1) Read परिवेषोज्जित्य ।

(2) Read निकष । (3) Read शेषाहरिव । (4) Read फणाः ।

(5) Read त्विषः । (6) Read प्रालेया (7) Read येत्युन्नताः । (8) Read

शाभवा । (9) Read विघातिनः । (10) Read वच्चल्लवकात् अस्ति ।

No. 93.

Plate II. (Obverse)

- Line 1. दस्ति¹⁰ श्रि¹¹ विजयनिलयः प्रकटगुणगणग्र-
 ,, 2. स्तसमस्तरोपवर्ग¹²जित्वा धर्मकलशनामा रा
 ,, 3. जा नोर्दूत¹³कलिकलुषकल्मष¹⁴श्रीरणभञ्जदेव-
 ,, 4. स्य प्रपौत्र¹⁵श्रीदिग्भञ्जदेवस्य नप्ता श्रीशि-
 ,, 5. लाभञ्जदेवस्य सुतः परममाहेश्वरो मातृपि-
 ,, 6. तृपादान्धातो भञ्जामलकुलतिलको महारा-
 ,, 7. ज श्रीविद्याध¹⁶भञ्जदेवस्य कुशली रमलव्व-(ण्ड)

No. 94.

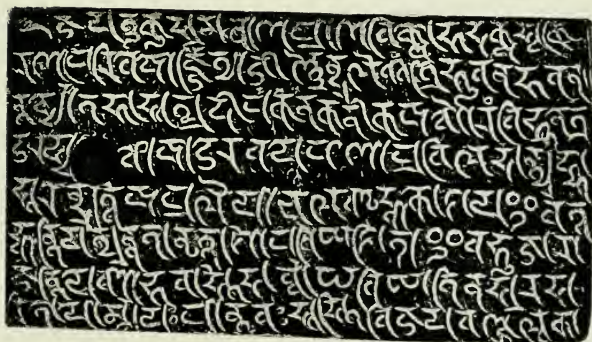
Plate II. (Reverse)

- Line 1. विषये यथानिवासिसामन्तभोगिभोग्यादिवि-
 ,, 2. षयजनपदं यथार्हं मानयति पुजयति¹⁷ वो-
 ,, 3. धयत्यादिशति चान्यत् सर्व्वतः शिवमस्माकम-
 ,, 4. न्यत् एतद्विषयसम्बन्धतुण्डुरावग्रामचतुसीमा¹⁸-
 ,, 5. पर्यन्तः¹⁹ ग्रामोयं ॥ मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्या-
 ,, 6. भिवृद्धये अचन्द्रार्क²⁰समं कालं यावत् सलील²¹धा-
 ,, 7. रापुरःसरेण विधिना गुणानुराधात्²² करत्वेन प्राप्ता
 ,, 8. उपमनुरागोत्थाय दत्ते²³प्रवराय वभृचशशाख-

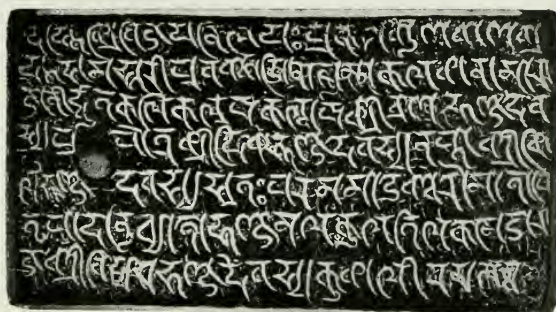
(11) Read श्री । (12) Read रिपुवर्ग । (13) Read निर्धूत ।
 (14) Read कलुषकल्मषः । (15) Read प्रपौत्रः । (16) Read महाराजः
 and विद्याधर । (17) Read पूजयति । (18) Read ग्रामचतुःसीमा ।
 (19) Read पर्यन्तः । (20) Read अचन्द्रार्कचित्समकालं । (21) Read
 सलील । (22) Read गुणानुराधात् । (23) Read दत्त or दत्तात्रेय ।



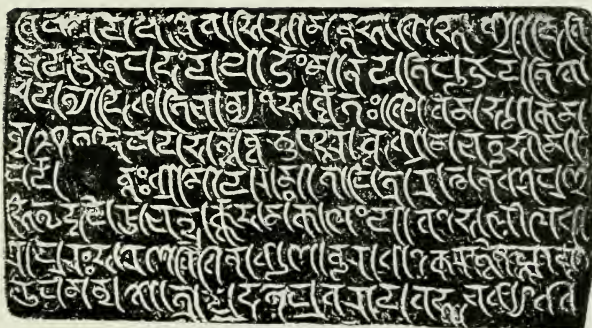
Seal of Vidyādhara Bhanjadeva.



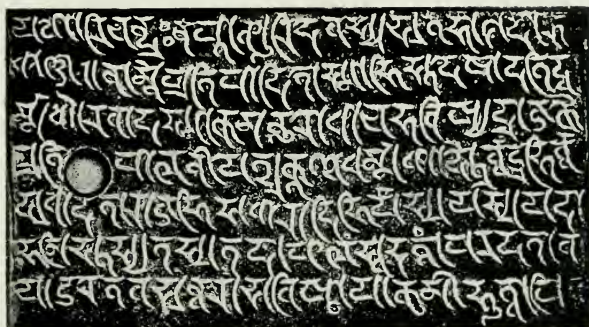
93. Copperplate-grant of Vidyādhara Bhanjadeva, 1 (Reverse).



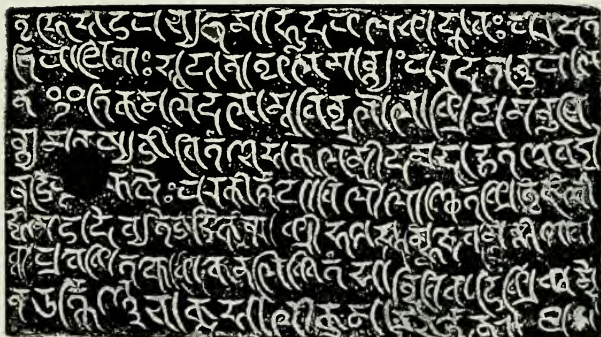
93. Copperplate-grant of Vidyādhara Bhanjadeva, II (Obverse).



94. Copperplate-grant of Vidyādhara Bhanjadeva, II (Reverse).



95. Copperplate-grant of Vidyâdhara Bhanjadeva, III (Obverse).



96. Copperplate-grant of Vidyâdhara Bhanjadeva, III (Reverse).

No. 95

Plate III. (Obverse)

- Line 1. य²⁴ गौरिचन्द्रः नमो शूरिदेवस्य सुत भाट्टदारु-
 ,, 2. खण्डो ॥ नाम्ने²⁵ प्रतिपादितोस्मामिस्तदेषादतिष्ठ²⁶
 ,, 3. र्मगौरवादस्माकमनुरोधाच्च²⁷ भविष्यद्राजकै
 ,, 4. प्रतिपालनीयेत्युक्तञ्च धर्मशास्त्रे र्वहुभिर्व्व-
 ,, 5. सुधा दत्ता²⁸ राजभि²⁹ सगरादिभिर्यस्य यस्य यदा
 ,, 6. भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं (॥) स्वदत्तां परदत्ता³⁰ वा
 ,, 7. यो हरेत वसुन्धरां (१) स विष्टाया³¹ कृमि³² भूत्वा पि-

No 96.

Plate III. (Reverse)

- Line 1. हभि³³ सह पच्यते (॥) मामूदफलशङ्का वः परदत्ते-
 ,, 2. ति पार्थिवाः (१) स्वदानात् फलमानन्तां परदत्तानुपाल-
 ,, 3. न³⁴ (॥) इति कमलदलाम्बुविन्दुलोला³⁵ श्रियमनुचि-
 ,, न्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च (१) सकलमीद³⁶ मुदाहृतञ्च बुध्वा³⁷
 ,, 5. न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्त्तयो विलो³⁸ लाञ्छित श्रि
 तृकली-
 ,, 6. झ³⁹ महादेव्यतेजरिकेन ॥ श्रीभट्टस्तम्भदेवमन्त्रीणा⁴⁰ वा⁴¹

(24) Read वहुचशाखाय । (25) Read गौरिचन्द्रस्य नमो शूर-
 देवस्य सुताय भट्टदारुखण्डो नाम्ने । (26) Read सतिषम् । (27) Read
 रोधाच्च । (28) Read दत्ता । (29) Read राजभिः । (30) Read परदत्ताम्बा ।
 (31) Read विष्टायां । (32) Read कृमिभूत्वा । (33) Read पितृभिः ।
 (34) Read परदत्तानुपालने । (35) Read लोला । (36) Read मिद ।
 (37) Read बुद्धा । (38) Read विलोप्याः ॥ (39) Read लाञ्छितं श्रीविक्रमिङ्ग ।
 (40) Read मन्त्रिणा । (41) The वा at the end of the line and the
 व्वा at the commencement of the next line, seem to be remnants
 of the inscription, originally engraved on these plates.

Line 7. व्या प्रवेशित⁴² केशवेन लिखितं सान्धिविग्रहिसिखम्भे-
 ,, 8. न⁴³ उत्किम्⁴⁴ चाक्षसाली कुमारचन्द्रे⁴⁵ न ॥ थ ॥

TALCHER PLATE OF GAYADATUNGA.

No. 97.

Front

श्रीगयाङ्गुतुङ्गदेवस्य

Line 1. श्री स्वस्ति आववाधत¹दिपगण्डस्थलगलदविरलम-
 ,, 2. दमलितमधुकरावलीभङ्गणैक²प्रदोषात् प्रबुध-
 ,, 3. तेय³विप्रवरैरिक्⁴सामयजुर्वेदध्वनी⁵भिनिर्नवहप्र-
 ,, 4. तिकृतसकलजनपदात् अनवरतहिजहुतहु⁶-
 ,, 5. तधूमसंचयो प्रहसितसमस्तरिषि⁷वासकात्
 ,, 6. महापर्वताभिधानतोदपर्वतारिन्द्र(?) तुङ्गनरेन्द्रां-
 ,, 7. किततनो⁸ यमगर्त्तमण्डलगतदूर्वारातिमा-
 ,, 8. द्य⁹द्विरदवरघटकुम्भपिठ¹⁰प्रहारव्यालग्नमुक्ता-
 ,, 9. फलनिकरकरालासिधारा स्फूर्न्ती दृष्ट्वा भग्नि
 ,, 10. निवारितप्रहसितवति यस्या¹¹ग्रामे भूमौ स शृ¹²
 ,, 11. गयाङ्गुतुङ्गप्रथितप्रयुयशास्तुंगवंशाद्भव¹³ स-
 ,, 12. द्विर्या¹⁴श्चर्यभूतो निजभुजमहिमोर्जितपूजितशृ¹⁵

(42) Read प्रवेशितं ।

(43) Read सान्धिविग्रहिकश्री लम्भेन ।

(44) Read उत्कीर्णं ।

(45) Read कुमारचन्द्रेन ।

(1) Read आवङ्गोद्धत । (2) भङ्गणैक । (3) Read प्रबुद्धतेजः ।

(4) Read विप्रवरैरिक् । (5) Read ध्वनिभिर्निवह । (6) Read हुतधूमसञ्चयः ।

(7) Read समस्तरिषि । (8) Read तनोः । (9) Read साद्यत् । (10) Read

पौठ । (11) Read भूमिनिवारितप्रहसितवति यस्य ग्रामे । (12) Read श्री ।

(13) Read वभूव । (14) Read सद्द्विर्या । (15) Read श्रीः ।



97. Tälcher plate of Gayāda Tungadeva, (Obverse).

- Line 13. राजा वाणार्यशत्रो¹⁶ सततमपि चला निश्चला यस्य
 „ 14. लक्ष्मि¹⁷ शाण्डिल्यगोत्रादुत्पन्न¹⁸ रोहितागिनिर्ग
 „ 15. तराजाश्रि¹⁹ जगत्तुङ्गरूपविर्धवन्वत²⁰ लान्ति तस्यान्ययो
 „ 16. सलोत्तुङ्गशृ²¹ मानोर्जितविक्रम²² तस्या वभूव ध-
 „ 17. ज्ञो²³ दुग्धाब्धेरिव चन्द्रमा परममाहेश्वरसमधी-
 „ 18. गतपञ्चमहाशब्द²⁴ श्रीगयाङ्गुत्तुङ्गदेव कुषली²⁵ ।
 „ 19. एतन्मण्डलेस्मिन् भाविनो²⁶ सामन्तसामवाजिनि-
 „ 20. जनजनपदा यथारिह बोधति कुषलयत्या
 „ 21. दिश्यती²⁶ च विदितमस्तु भवताम्

No. 98.

(Back)

- Line 1. तुङ्गे राविषयसम्बन्धनामा इतोऽज्ञायामोयं च-
 „ 2. तुसिमापर्यन्त²⁷ वरेन्द्रमण्डले मुघाउधभटग्राम-
 „ 3. विनिर्गत ओड्रविषये साविरभटग्रामवास्तव्य²⁸ का-
 „ 4. शपगोत्र वक्षायन नैध्रूव प्रवर²⁹ यजुर्वेदाचर-
 „ 5. एकण्णशाखाध्यायिन³⁰ भटपुत्रदेवशर्मपुत्रमसू-
 „ 6. तधनशर्मणे ग्रामार्हे अशसविधि³¹ विनिर्गत य-
 „ 7. मगर्तमण्डलवास्तव्य³² वक्ष्यगोत्र³³ पञ्चार्पप्रव-

(16) Read शत्रोः । (17) Read लक्ष्मीः । (18) Read उत्पन्नः ।
 (19) Read राजश्रीः । (20) Read बोध्यवन्त्वन्तः । (21) Read श्रीः ।
 (22) Read विक्रमः । (23) Read धर्मज्ञो । (24) Read समधि गतपञ्च-
 महाशब्दः । (25) Read कुषली । (26) Read भाविनः and
 यथाहं बोधयति तु शल्यत्यादिशति । (27) Read चतुःसीमा पर्यन्तं ।
 (28) Read वास्तव्यः । (29) Read काशपगोत्राय वात्स्यायननैध्रूवप्रवराय ।
 (30) Read ध्यायिने । (31) Read अशेषविधि । (32) Read वास्तव्यः ।
 (33) Read वात्स्यगोत्रः ।

- Line 8. र-यजुवेदाचरण-कण्वाखाध्यायिन³⁴ भटपु-
 ,, 9. त-वासुदेवल्लरसुत एरुकानम् आंशच-
 ,, 10. तुर्य माल भटपुत्रवासुदेवसुत रामदेव
 ,, 11. आंश चतुर्थ माल लणोदकरूप्यष्टचत्वारि
 ,, 12. अङ्गेकप्यप्त तांस्वशाषनिकृत्य³⁵ प्रदत्तोस्मा
 ,, 13. मि³⁶ याव³⁷ चन्द्रार्कतारका-अचटभटप्रवेस स्व-
 ,, 14. दाता परदत्तस्वा यो हरेति वसुन्धरा सविष्ठ-
 ,, 15. यां कृमिभूत्वा पितृभि सह पच्यते इति ॥³⁸

TALCHER PLATE OF VINITATUNGA.

No. 99.

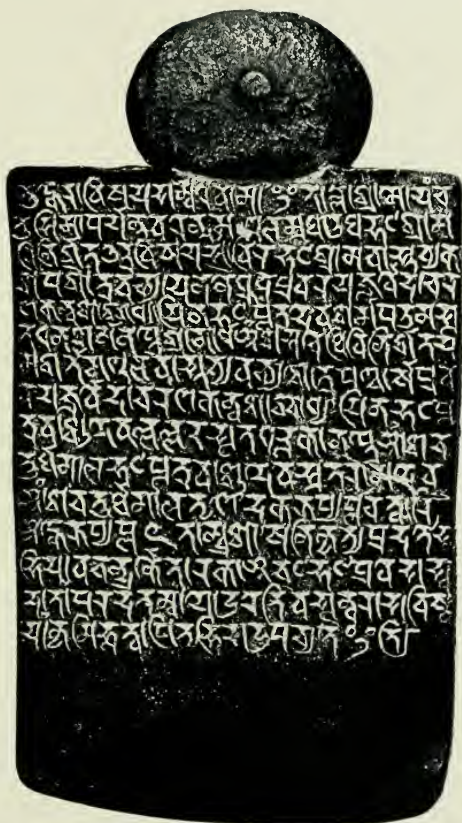
(Front)

श्रीविनीततुङ्गदेवस्य

- Line 1. श्रीं स्वस्ति आवद्धस्थलद्विपगण्डस्थलगलदविरल-
 मदमलितमधु-
 ,, 2. करावलीभङ्गणैकप्रदोषात् विवध्यतेयं विप्रवरै-
 रीक्षामयजुर्वेदध्वनिभि
 ,, 3. त्रिवेहप्रतिकृतसकलजनपदात् अनवरतद्विज-
 हतराहृतधूमसुरयोः प्र-
 ,, 4. हसितसमस्तऋषिवासकात् महा-
 पर्वतोदरिन्द्रत् (?) तुङ्गनरे-

(34) Read आथी । (35) Read यैतत् तामणामनोक्त्य । (36) Read प्रदत्तोऽस्माभिः । (37) Read यावच्चन्द्रार्क । (38) Read रुदत्ता परदत्तास्वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां स विष्ठायां कृमिभूत्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यते ।

(1) Read भङ्गैक । (2) Read विवृद्धतेजः । (3) Read र्षेक्षाम । (4) Read इतधूमसञ्चयः । (5) Read समस्तर्षिः ।



98. Tālcher plate of Gayāda-Tungadeva, (Reverse).

- Line 5. न्द्राङ्किताभिधानयमगर्त्तमण्डलगतदुर्ब्बाराति-
माद्यद्विरदं⁷वरघटाकु-
- „ 6. अपीठप्रहारव्यालग्नमुक्ताफलनिकरकराला-
सिधारास्फूरन्ति⁸
- „ 7. दृष्ट्वा भुग्विनिवारितवती ग्रामे यस्या स श्रीमान्वि-
नीततुङ्गप्रथि-
- „ 8. तपृथुयशं⁹स्तुङ्गवंशादभूव सदीर्याशयेभुतो निजभुज
महिमो-
- „ 9. पार्जितश्री राजा वाणार्थ्यशत्रोः सततमपि चला
निश्चला यस्य लक्ष्मी¹⁰
- „ 10. शाण्डिल्यगोत्रादुत्पन्न¹¹ रोहितागिरिनिर्गतः
श्रीराजा विनीततुङ्ग¹² विद्या-
- „ 11. रूपवीर्यवलाग्वितः यस्यान्वयः खड्गमुत्तुङ्ग
श्रीमानुर्जितविक्रम¹³ तस्या¹⁴ वभूव
- „ 12. धर्मराज्ञो दुग्धाब्धेरिव चन्द्रमा¹⁵ ॥ परममाहेश्वर¹⁶
समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्द¹⁷ बल-
- „ 13. नृपतितुङ्गमहाराजराणक¹⁸ श्रीविनीततुङ्गदेवकु-

No. 100.

(Back)

Line 1. शली । एतदीययमगर्त्तमण्डलेस्मिन् भाविनो
राजानक-राजपुत्र-मांडलिकपु-

(7) Read माद्यद्विरद । (8) Read धाराः स्फुरन्तीः । (9) Read प्रथित-
पृथुयशा । (10) Read लक्ष्मीः । (11) Read पत्रो । (12) Read तुङ्गः ।
(13) Read विक्रमः । (14) Read तस्य । (15) Read चन्द्रमाः ।
(16) Read माहेश्वरः । (17) Read शब्दः । (18) Read राणकः ।

- Line 2. त-कुमारामात्य-परिक-दण्डपाशिक-स्थानान्तरिक-
सामन्त सामराजिक-प्र-
- ,, 3. कृतिक¹⁹ भट्टवल्लभजातीयान् मानयति बोधयति
कुशलयति आज्ञापयति च
- ,, 4. विदितमस्तु भवतां एतद्विषयसम्बन्ध²⁰ मउपण्ड-
ग्राममोशरताम्बूसा
- ,, 5. शनौ(क)तार्द्धग्राम²¹भट्टपुत्रचक्रदत्तं ॥ पुण्डवरम-
विनिर्गतभट्टपुत्र-
- ,, 6. चक्ररखितकृष्णम् ॥ साधारणसुतवलभद्रपति-
गौतमगो-
- ,, 7. त उतथ्यप्रवर रोयरावास्तव्य²² ॥ अथावस्तुविनिर्ग-
तभट्टपुत्रल-
- ,, 8. खादित्त²³ ऊज्जालसुतवलभद्रपति²⁴ अर्द्धग्राम²⁵ एवं
महारा-
- ,, 9. जेन विनीततुङ्गेन प्रदत्तोऽम्माभि²⁶धर्मगौरवात्
परीपालनीय²⁷
- ,, 10. काषपगोत्र वक्कार नैघुपप्रवर अट्टकुलाय²⁸ ॥
मल्लचट्टभट्ट आदि त-

(19) Read प्रकृतिकः । (20) Read सम्बन्धः । (21) ताम्रशासनोक्तग्रा-
ह्यग्राम । (22) Read प्रवरः and वास्तव्यः । (23) Read अववास्तु
विनिर्गतभट्टपुत्रलखादित्य । (24) Read पतिः । (25) Read अर्द्धग्राम ।
(26) Read धर्मं । (27) Read परिपालनीयं । (28) Read काश्यपगोत्राय
वत्सारनैघुपप्रवराय अट्टकुलाय ।

- Line 11. त स्थानादिगुल्मकसर्व्वपीडावर्जितोचल्लखरी-
प्रवेशतया भूमिक्विद्रापि
,, 12. न न्यायेनाचन्द्रार्कक्षितिसमकालं मातापि-
तोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभिवृद्धये
,, 13. स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां स वि-
ष्टायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः स

TALCHER PLATE OF KULASTAMBHADEVA.

No. 101.

Obverse

श्रीकुलस्तम्भदेवस्य

- Line 1. ओं स्वस्ति । जयति भुजगभोगपरमालवः
सर्व्वज्ञः सर्व्वकृद्वापिहरप-
,, 2. दाक्षरेणवः । स्थितिभूवनविदिते शुल्कीकांश-
वंशभूषणो राजो-
,, 3. त्तम¹सीतकाञ्चनसूभन²निजभुजवज्रविनिर्जित-
दुर्द³रवैरी⁴वारणगिरी-
,, 4. साज्जातः⁵सतो महानृपति⁶ श्रीमवी⁷क्रमादित्यः
परमनामाधिप-
,, 5. श्रीमत् कुलहस्तंभः तस्मादयार्थ⁸रणसाहसा⁹द्यतः
प्रताप-

(1) Read राजोत्तमः । (2) Read श्रीभनः । (3) Read वैरिवारण ।
(4) Read गिरीशाज्जातो¹शतो । (5) Read महानृपतिः । (6) Read श्रीमद्-
विक्रमादित्यः (7) Read परमनामाधिपः । (8) Read तस्मादयार्थ । (9) Read
रणसाहसोद्यतः ।

Line 6. भस्मोक्तवैरिविग्रहस्त्रिवर्गसम्मानित¹⁰साधुसम्मतः

पृथिव्यां

,, 7. ततो व्यजायत सकलभूपालमौलीमालालालित-

चरणयु-

,, 8. गलो नीर्मल¹¹करवालकिरणभासुरो केदालाधिवासी

,, 9. श्रीस्तम्भेश्वरीलश्वरप्रभावो महानुभावः परममाहेश्व-

,, 10. रो मातृपितृपादानुध्यायी समधिगतपञ्चममहा-

शब्दो म-

,, 11. हाराजाधिराजः श्रीरणस्तम्भपरमनामधिप परम-

भट्टरक-¹²

,, 12. श्रीकुलस्तम्भराणकः कुशली मण्डलेस्मिन्वर्त्तमान-

भविष्यत्सहा¹³सा-

,, 13. मन्तराजपुत्रान्नियुक्तदण्डपाशिकानन्यान्यपि राज-

प्रसादिना¹⁴चट्टभट्ट-

,, 14. महासामन्तभागजनपदाद्यानधिकरणजनान्

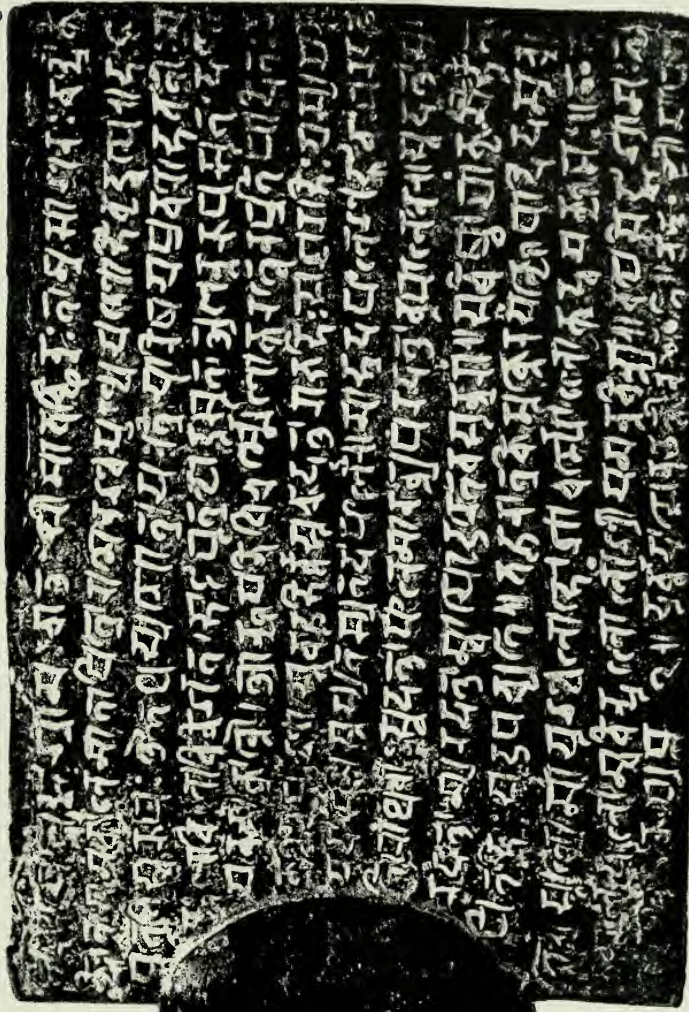
यथाहं मानयति वो-

,, 15. धयति समादिशति आज्ञापयति विदितमसु भवतां

पश्चिमखण्डपू-

(10) Read सम्मानितः । (11) Read निर्मलः । (12) Read परम-
भट्टारकः । (13) Read भविष्यन्महा । (14) Read प्रसादितान् ।

[illegible]



No 102

(Reverse)

Line 1. र्वविषये सिङ्गग्रामचतुःसीमावच्छिन्नताम्-

शासनः चन्द्रार्क-

,, 2. क्षितिसमकालं मातापितोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभि-

वृद्धये ॥ भट्ट-

,, 3. पुत्रविस्वरूपः उत्पत्त्यस्य गोत्राय त्रियारिषय¹⁵प्रवरो¹⁶भवताम्¹⁷ म-,, 4. झलविलाविनिर्गत¹⁸भट्टपुत्रयदुसुत अनन्तरूपसुतः

दक्षिणा-

,, 5. य¹⁹संक्रान्ती । आक्षेपविधिधर्मेणाकरत्वेन

प्रतिपादितः उ-

,, 6. कञ्च धर्मशास्त्रे बहुभिर्व्यसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरा-

दिभिः यस्य यस्य

,, 7. यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥ माभूदफलशङ्का

वः परदत्ते-

,, 8. ति पार्थिवः²⁰ । स्वदत्ता फलमानन्तां परदत्तानु-

पालने ॥ स्वदत्तां प-

,, 9. रदत्ताम्बरस्य रदत्ताम्बा यो ज्ञरेत वसुन्धरां ॥ स वि-

ष्टायां कृमिभृत्वा

(15) Read द्वाविंशे । (16) Read प्रवराय । (17) Read भवते ।

(18) Read विनिर्गतः । (19) Read दक्षिणायन । (20) Read पार्थिवाः ।

(21) Omit underline portion.

Line 10. पितृभिः सह पच्यते ॥ बहुनात्र किमुक्तेन संक्षेपा-
दिदमुच्य-

,, 11. ते ॥ स्वल्पमायुश्चला भोगा धर्मी लोकद्वयक्षमः ॥
इती²²

,, 12. कमलदलाम्बुविन्दुलोलां श्री²³यमनुचिन्ता ॥
एषा²⁴सिद्धिप्राप्तः

,, 13. प्रयत्नादेवरूपाप्त²¹ २॥ दूर्वादासेन उद्धीर्ण²⁵ इति ॥
चतुःसोमापर्य

(22) Read इति । (23) Read त्रियमनुचिन्ता । (24) Obscure.

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